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T.R.B. from Washington

National Headache

★ Got the flu? Maybe you need an antibiotic! Of course the price is high, almost out of reach of poor people in some cases. The government is now looking into the sick bed conspiracy of the big drug companies. The eight largest companies controlled 57 percent of the market of biological products in 1963, and 79 percent of all medicinals and botanicals, according to a new compilation by the Senate antitrust subcommittee.

Three drug companies have just been found guilty of a criminal conspiracy to fix prices of one of the "wonder" antibiotics, tetracycline, and to monopolize a $100-million market: Charles Pfizer & Co., American Cyanamid, and Bristol-Meyers. They had two co-conspirators, according to the New York jury verdict, Olin Mathieson and Upjohn.

Proper drugs literally mean life and death to a lot of patients. The companies that control their price are in a nice position. The government is making an effort to police the industry but it is slow. Action against the present conspiracy began in 1953. And the latest decision will still be appealed.

The government is gentle and understanding to criminal conspirators in another way. The real penalty for a guilty company is not a federal fine – in this case a maximum $150,000 – but prospective triple damage suits. These are the teeth in the antitrust law passed when we had an angrier Congress. Triple damage suits were brought, you remember, in the 1962 electrical price conspiracy, but to the amazement of many the Internal Revenue Service ruled that such payments would be deductible as "ordinary and necessary" business expense. This extraordinary decision was like telling the Mafia to deduct its bribing expense from the income tax. Sen. Hart (D, Mich.) and others are trying to get a law to reverse the ruling.

Health expenses are unconscionable. Anybody can have the finest surgeons and hospitals in the world – if he can pay for it. Some of this care spills over to charity patients, too. But the great middle class, and particularly low-income families, often must go without. The US is almost the only Western democracy where everybody is not insured.

An American friend of ours recently had a baby in Finland. The hospital fee, $3.50 a day. Cost of delivery about the same. The US is moving slowly in that direction; first Medicare for the aged, then Medicaid. Anybody can see that the thing may be universal soon.

American doctors are splendid, and they run one of the tightest trade unions in the nation. Medical costs are rising faster than almost any other item in the cost of living. A copyright article in *Medical Economics* says that the median income for US physicians in private practice rose two percent in 1965, but in 1966 jumped 11 percent. Median income of doctors, it reported, is $32,170, or about five times the national median of $7,400. One in seven physicians, in private practice, the magazine says, nets at least $50,000.

Physicians are a conservative group and the AMA has been shouting "socialism" for years. It bitterly opposed social security. When Medicare took effect physicians in the New York area upped their fees for patients, 65 and over, by as much as 300 percent, one study showed. Hospital bills in the 1960's have risen five times faster than the overall cost-of-living.

Medical Economics explains that before Medicare doctors hesitated to raise fees "for fear of antagonizing the public." Now they have overcome their shyness, it appears. In fact, they are doing very well under "socialism."

The nation needs a lot more doctors and medical schools. Back in 1960 the platforms of both political parties proposed large-scale federal aid for this. Something has been done but vastly more is needed to make proper health care a right and not a privilege. That is what it is now in much of Europe and Russia. Canada implements its $1-billion federal-provincial medical insurance system July 1. Proportionately this would cost $10 billion in the US.

It Didn't Work

★ Sometimes we think we are a little biased against big business. We hope not. We got to thinking about this when President Johnson last week announced plans to end the gold drain. This time it is to be mandatory. Back in 1965 he was trying to keep friends with everybody and produced a friendly *voluntary* program of limiting investments abroad. Newspapers cooed blissfully about it, but we were doubtful. "He appeals to bankers and businessmen to apply voluntary curbs," we wrote (Feb. 27, 1965), "will they do it?" Our answer was, "Maybe LBJ can work the miracle," and then we added, a little harshly perhaps, "yet we will say this. Never in our time... has organized business supported a President who genuinely offered a liberal program and who fought to enact it."

Severe? Possibly and, in this case, Mr. Johnson didn't "fight" very hard. The voluntary program has failed; the imbalances – stimulated in part by Vietnam – continue to grow; the pound has fallen and the dollar is threatened. (Some economists think the dollar is too high and ought to be devalued.)

★ *Notes:* We wouldn't have supposed good old Ike still had the capacity to muddle up GOP politics the way he does. We remember the famous press conference where he asked for a week to think up some contributions Nixon had made to his Administration; and the time he was listing GOP hopefuls and couldn't seem to remember Nixon's name. Now, in a *NYTimes* year-end interview he implied that Romney was a man "in a panic" (though characteristically, he called him "a good and respected friend" two days later.)

And once more he seemed inadvertently to slap down poor old Nixon (to the benefit of Rocky) by brightly remarking he hoped the GOP convention would pick "a man who could win."

Could Nixon beat LBJ? This doubt might halt his nomination.

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Better than Gold

On November 27 General de Gaulle acidly complained that American investments in Europe exactly equalled eight years' deficits in the American balance of payments, and that "France wishes that an end be put to this abuse." President Johnson commenced 1968 by proposing to do so, but in the interests of the dollar, not the franc. As de Gaulle made clear, American deficits are nothing new. The French President could have pointed out that this country's cumulative deficit since 1950 is more than $20 billions. The worst year was 1960, when the deficit was $3.9 billion. But the figure for 1967 may turn out as high as that, or higher.

A balance-of-payments deficit means the country is spending and lending abroad more than it earns or borrows from abroad. A consequence of 17 years of deficits is that many billions of dollars are now held by non-Americans; and for every $35 they possess the United States Treasury stands pledged to exchange on demand an ounce of gold. It has been doing so. On December 20 the Treasury held about $12.4 billion worth of gold, $10 billion less than it held 10 years ago. Of the Treasury's $12.4 billion gold stock, the law requires that about $10.6 billion worth be retained as domestic backing for paper dollars in circulation in this country. That leaves a very tiny margin of gold for meeting foreign dollar-holders' gold claims, and President Johnson's January 1 statement indicated sharply that very large gold claims against the dollar were pressed by gold speculators in the final quarter of last year. Mr. Johnson therefore wants to cut the balance-of-payments deficit by about $3 billion during 1968, in five slashes. Acting under an old 1919 Trading with the Enemy Act, he proposes to compel American companies to reduce their annual rate of investing overseas by $1 billion. This will be aimed chiefly at Western Europe. General de Gaulle may or may not perceive the humor of having his wishes unexpectedly met under an ancient piece of legislation originally directed against the German Empire. But he can scarcely object, since he thinks it unethical for American businesses to be setting themselves up in France at a time when the United States is "exporting dollar inflation." Mr. Johnson intends to lop another $1 billion off the deficit, by persuading American banks to curtail further their overseas loans, and by persuading American tourists not to leave the Western Hemisphere. And a final $1 billion will be partly earned and partly saved, by pushing sales of American goods abroad and cutting federal government spending

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abroad. That final item ought to be the prize in the package, for it inevitably suggests slicing spending in Vietnam. That is not, alas, what President Johnson means. He proposes to reduce the number of *civilians* the federal government has working for it abroad. And he says the Pentagon will take steps to compel GIs and their families overseas to cut their "personal outlays." There isn't a hint of a cut in the big Vietnam spending, now running near $30 billion a year.

In his economic report to Congress last January, Mr. Johnson said: "Our goal in the coming year is to continue to move toward balance-of-payment equilibrium as rapidly as the foreign-exchange costs of the Vietnam conflict may permit." In 1967, the movement was backward from equilibrium, not forward, and the Vietnam war was a direct cause. General de Gaulle in his November 27 press conference had further advice for Mr. Johnson, advice the President rejects. De Gaulle said: "Without the Vietnam drama, the conflict between Israel and the Arabs would not have become what it is, and if tomorrow Southeast Asia were to see peace reestablished, the Middle East would soon regain it." That may or may not be true, but it can hardly be denied that one sure way to cut excess spending abroad would be to end the war in Vietnam. Instead, Mr. Johnson sent Undersecretary Katzenbach to ask the Europeans to help pay for our Far East war; and cumbrous and complex controls are to be clapped on American businesses and American travelers, with little assurance the controls will achieve their purpose.

Even aside from Vietnam, it's doubtful that the President and his economic advisers are approaching the payments problem the sensible way. On the contrary, the chances are that the things they propose doing are basically not the right things at all. The tail is being allowed to wag the dog. As Walter Heller says, the balance-of-payments deficit confronts the country with some discomfort but not with a crisis. A deficit of even $4 billion, if it should prove to be as much as that, still has to be placed in the perspective of an annual gross output worth more than $800 billion, and annual exports worth $30 billion. The fact that the Treasury's gold hoard is dwindling ought not to fool anyone into imagining that the American economy is anything but tremendously strong. Yet that is just the misleading impression the Administration's proposals may give, for it seems to be measuring the dollar against gold and finding the dollar wanting, whereas the truth is as Heller says, "the dollar is better than gold." During all the years that dollars have been flowing abroad, they have been welcomed by other countries' banking systems, which have held them as part of their reserves, in preference to holding gold. In spite of General de Gaulle, some eminent American economists are confident that foreigners continue holding the dollar in high esteem. Rather than tie American businesses and travelers in knots with the President's restrictions, these economists advise letting the gold continue to go out, and letting the dollar's exchange value "float" in terms of gold and of other currencies. They are convinced that the result would not be a grave depreciation of the dollar – though if this country indicated lessened interest in gold, it might bring about a depreciation of gold.

The President and his Treasury officials are very unlikely to accept this analysis. Nevertheless, the steps they do propose taking may fail to solve the immediate payments problem, while also failing to tackle underlying and more fundamental difficulties that threaten not just this country but the entire international financial system. It may not after all prove feasible to restrain American businesses from investing overseas, or compel them to bring home all their profits promptly (in any particular case, who's to decide what constitutes a profit?). A simple tax on foreign earnings might leave fewer loopholes for astute corporation lawyers.

Limiting travel by Americans may turn out no more successful than curbing investment overseas. The Administration seems to be thinking in terms of some kind of head tax on tourists, or perhaps of limiting the amount of money that a traveler may take abroad – the sort of irksome restriction their governments al-already apply to Britons, Australians, New Zealanders and Japanese. But who's to say whose journey abroad is a business or family necessity or who is traveling just for pleasure? And how can Americans be prevented from first going to Canada, then visiting Europe? Even before it had got started on those restrictions, the Administration was in evident difficulty about what is or isn't the Western Hemisphere.

Europeans are likely to react unfeelingly to being asked in effect to help pay for Vietnam, and they cannot be expected to be any more sympathetic to the rest of the President's program, for it will mean serious trade losses. The British, who have just devalued the pound in an attempt to climb out of their financial hole, stand to lose millions of dollars a year that American tourists might spend– more dollars than Britain earns from selling this country Scotch whiskey and sports cars. Italy, Spain and the Scandinavian countries will also be hit, and the Japanese fear that Mr. Johnson's restrictions will provoke a general shrinking of world trade. The President said himself that curbs on the outflow of dollars made it "vital" to speed up plans for creating new monetary reserves for the world banking system. That alone suggests the dollar is more vital than gold. The dollar should be defended, but not by means that may drive other nations to guard their currencies through restrictions that could cause worldwide recessions, strangling trade and employment.

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Moving Right Along

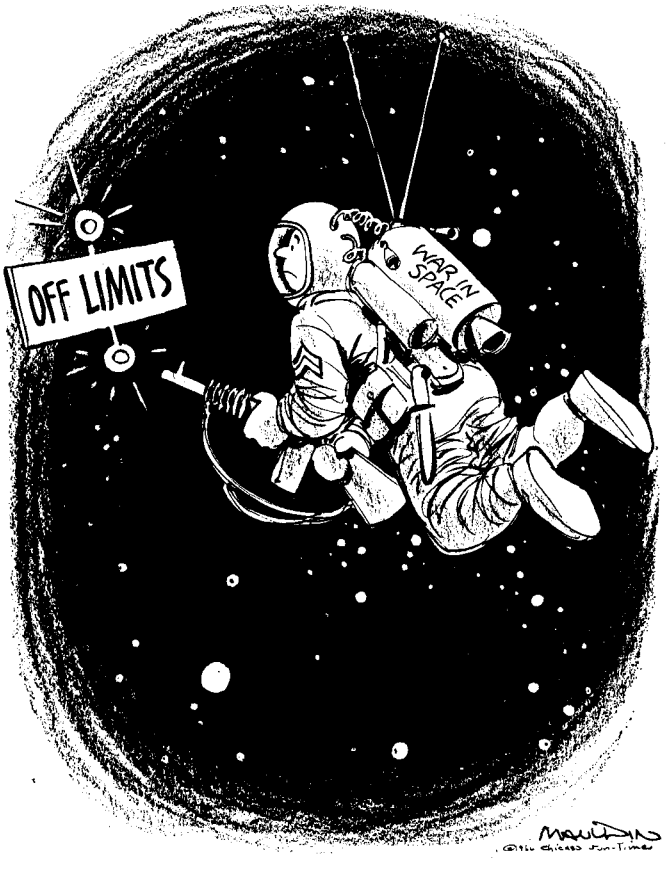
Neither the limited test ban treaty of 1963 nor the treaty on peaceful uses of outer space ratified by the United States and the Soviet Union last spring appears to have seriously interfered with continuation of the nuclear arms race. The two super-powers go right on developing clever devices for annihilation, the latest of which fly around in space. The French and the Chinese, determined to catch up, do not bother about the niceties of underground testing but set off their bombs in the atmosphere in contempt of the test ban treaty. Every power that has nuclear weapons is afraid to stand still out of fear of the other powers that have them. Small wonder the industrial countries which are not yet nuclear powers balk at the proposed treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

Take the famous test ban treaty, hailed in 1963 as the most significant arms control step since World War II ended. It forbad nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in space and underwater, but set no control on the scope of underground testing. It was widely believed that the ban would make the development of new nuclear weapons very difficult, or at least slow it down. But both the United States and the Soviet Union have gone right on making new, improved warheads for new, improved missiles. If present trends continue – and they will probably speed up – by the tenth anniversary of the treaty, the US and the USSR will have at least 10 times as many offensive nuclear warheads on missiles as they did in 1963, not to mention hundreds of anti-missile missiles.

The Defense Department, according to Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D, Wash.), and he should know, "has continued to develop methods of conducting underground tests in which results are being obtained that were previously thought impossible under the treaty restrictions." Since the test ban treaty, the announced American weapons-related underground nuclear test program has averaged about 27 explosions a year (there are a small number of unannounced shots). According to Senator Jackson, who is the chairman of the military applications subcommittee of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, the Defense Department plans to increase the number of tests during the next two years, concentrating on new offensive warhead design and anti-ballistic missile warheads. "Numerous scientific discoveries and proposals for new testing techniques . . . are being developed," he said recently. The Defense Department will also seek to explode much higher yield weapons than in the past, in an effort to catch up with Russian experiments in this area.

In the past four years, the Atomic Energy Commission has reported seismic signals from the usual Soviet test areas on three occasions in 1964, four in 1965, seven in 1966 and four in 1967. These are, clearly, only the largest Soviet shots, but the Soviet test program is thought to be smaller than the US program. As for the French and Chinese, the French set off six nuclear devices in the atmosphere in 1966 and three in 1967, while the Chinese set off one each in 1964 and 1965, three in 1966 and two in 1967. The one clear benefit of the treaty so far has been the cessation of US and Soviet atmospheric tests and the heavy fallout associated with them. In 1962, the United States set off 37 megatons of nuclear explosives in 35 such tests. In 1961-62, the Soviet Union set off an estimated 300 megatons of nuclear explosions in about 70 shots, as announced by the AEC. Measured against these statistics, the French and Chinese atmospheric tests are very small potatoes, but they illustrate the shortcomings of the test ban treaty in curbing nuclear weapons development.

One of the fruits of the US underground testing program of the past four years has been the design of a special nuclear warhead for long-range anti-missile missiles. This warhead, exploding in space, shoots out beams of X-rays for several miles to destroy incoming warheads on offensive missiles. The Soviet Union, which is also going ahead with an anti-missile system, presumably has a similar warhead. The Soviets also have developed a new offensive weapon, to get around



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the US anti-missile system and warning radars. According to Defense Secretary McNamara, this weapon is shot into a low orbit around the earth, too low for early detection by radar. At some point before it completes its first orbit, it fires a nuclear warhead at a target on earth – hence it is known as the "Fractional Orbital Bombardment System" (FOBS). The FOBS warhead, which must be lightweight, undoubtedly was developed in the Soviet underground testing program. To get around the Soviet anti-missile system, the US has come up with its own new offensive weapon, known as the "space bus" or the Multiple Individually Targeted Re-entry Vehicle system (MIRV). This is a maneuverable payload on an intercontinental ballistic missile, carrying as many as 10 separate nuclear warheads. As the payload descends toward its target area, tiny rockets make very small adjustments in its flight path. After each adjustment, the payload drops a warhead. The space bus can thus attack a number of widely separated cities, or it can put all its warheads into one area. The lightweight warheads packed on the space bus were developed in the US underground testing program.

Both FOBS and the space bus make use of advanced space-flight techniques, and seemingly flirt with violation of the outer-space treaty. But a close reading of the treaty shows that the signatories are only banned from putting nuclear weapons into orbit around the earth. Since FOBS comes down before it completes an orbit, Washington does not consider it a violation. The "space bus" does not go into even a partial orbit. Thus it too is exempt. The US takes the position that it makes no sense to put nuclear weapons into orbit, since there are more effective ways of delivering them. The "space bus" is only the Model-T of nuclear re-entry vehicles to come.

Is This Overkill?

The Viet Cong 9th Division has been clobbered again. According to *The Washington Post*, two regiments of the division lost 374 men in the space of a few hours January 2 when they attacked a base camp of the US 25th Infantry Division 62 miles northwest of Saigon. In November, as *The Post* noted, these regiments were rated by US commanders "as eliminated as fighting forces" in engagements at nearby battlegrounds.

After two years of the war, the Pentagon is filling up with colonels who at one time or another have helped to "destroy" the VC 9th, only to see it pop up again. Just counting its major engagements in this period, the VC 9th: (1) decimated a South Vietnamese regiment in November 1965 at the Michelin Plantation northwest of Saigon; (2) attacked the district town of Loc Ninh in May 1965, triggering Operations El Paso I, II and III, in which the US Military Assistance Command in Vietnam (MACV) claimed over 1,000 Viet Cong killed during May-July; (3) opposed US forces in Operation Attleboro, in which MACV claimed over 1,000 Viet Cong killed in October-November 1966; (4) turned up again to fight during Operation Junction City, in which MACV claimed over 2,000 Viet Cong casualties in February-April 1967; and (5) attacked the town of Loc Ninh again on October 29, 1967, leaving behind over 800 casualties in an eight-day battle, according to the MACV "body count." After this second battle of Loc Ninh, Joseph Alsop last November chided the American press for ignoring the importance of "the fact that the proudest, toughest and most celebrated VC division is now in a state of quasi-ruins. . . ."

Taking Polluters to Court

"A court of equity is the *only* place to take effective action against polluters. Only in a courtroom can a scientist present his evidence, free from harassment by politicians. And only in a courtroom can bureaucratic hogwash be tested in the crucible of cross-examination." This sort of rhetoric is typical of Victor J. Yannacone, a young lawyer from Patchogue, Long Island, who recently sued local authorities to stop them from using DDT, and now has set out to rid the entire US of a variety of environmental ills. Impatient with the pussyfooting characteristic of many conservation organizations, Yannacone and his young scientist friends have established the Environmental Defense Fund to give legal and scientific support to local groups struggling against pollution.

The EDF's organizers shy away from the word "conservation." They see the EDF as a means by which scientists, in their professional capacity, can have their day in court. Based in Brookhaven, L.I., the EDF went far afield to the Michigan Court of Appeals this fall to secure an order restraining the state's Department of Agriculture from dumping three tons of DDT on Berrien County. This agricultural overkill was aimed at an "infestation of Japanese beetles," which later turned out to number somewhere between 300 and 1,000 bugs. Dr. Charles F. Wurster of the New York State University at Stony Brook testified for the EDF that, for every beetle affected, from 10 to 80 birds and mammals "up to the size of cats and even sheep" would be killed.

Though the restraining order was eventually dissolved, the EDF walked off with a demi-victory. The order had delayed spraying for so long that the state finally postponed it until next spring. Michigan's

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Department of Agriculture agreed to review part of its spray program, another victory for EDF.

Now broadening its attack, the EDF has filed suit in Manhattan's US District Court against the US Department of Agriculture. Its object is to prevent the USDA from using Dieldrin in Berrien County and from recommending DDT as a treatment for Dutch Elm Disease anywhere in the nation. More than 40 biologists, botanists and biochemists have wired support for the EDF's position. Dr. George M. Woodwell of the AEC's Brookhaven National Laboratory sums up their case: "There is no circumstance that justifies the use of Dieldrin and DDT in the general environment, now that concentrations of these persistent pesticides have reached the point of degrading ecological systems in diverse parts of the world."

This alliance of science and law reflects a growing militancy in the conservation movement. Yannacone believes that the speed with which the law is evolving makes it possible for any citizen, backed by competent scientific advice, to take his complaint against industry or big government to court. There, reasonably permanent decisions can be obtained, independent of shifts in the political climate.

"The Scenic Hudson case is a good example of what's wrong in trying to fight the battle on an administrative level," Yannacone says. "Agencies like the Federal Power Commission are so restricted by their own narrow interests that they're incapable of ecological considerations. Suppose the Scenic Hudson group gets a favorable decision from the FPC to stop the building of a power plant? The utilities can come right back in a year or two with another petition. By then the conservationists will be exhausted – physically and financially."

FRANK GRAHAM JR.

Open Housing

Louisville

The Board of Aldermen of this city adopted an ordinance back in 1914 barring Negroes from purchasing property on a block having a "white majority." (The courts later struck it down as unconstitutional.) In 1967, the Board adopted an ordinance outlawing racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing in the city, making Louisville the first major city south of the Ohio River to adopt enforceable open-housing legislation.

One could deduce from these two widely separated events that it was simply a matter of time working a change, and that the attitudes of 1914 are not those of 1967. But that's too easy. What happened in Louisville in the past year before an open-housing ordinance was enacted casts some doubt on how much racial attitudes have changed in a half century. Moreover, if time is the answer, one might wonder why it was that Louisville passed a meaningful open-housing ordinance, one of the strongest in the nation, while Milwaukee, which is some distance north of the Ohio River, was approving a weak travesty of an ordinance.

Over the past 15 years Louisville had built a national reputation for civilized race relations. It was no paradise of tolerance. The only Negroes who set foot in country clubs were waiters, and the spirit of brotherhood could be but dimly perceived in many churches. The schools were legally desegregated, but *de facto* segregation was increasing. Negro unemployment was high, relative to white, and here as elsewhere the building trades unions were still discriminating. Nevertheless, Louisville had passed the appropriate civil-rights legislation and had nothing to be ashamed of when weighed in the national scale.

Until last year. Somewhere along the line the city administration made a decision not to take the logical next step. There was to be no action on open housing. There would be charades and other fun and games; there would be promises; there would be hypocritical expressions of public concern about the deterioration in race relations – but no action.

Winter became spring, and by April, City Hall could stall no longer. The aldermen acted. They rejected an open-housing ordinance, and a rather weak one at that. Mayor Schmied, who had given the weak measure a backhanded endorsement, was conveniently out of the city when the crucial vote was taken. "Don't be mad at Kenny Schmied," people said, "he hasn't done anything."

He had, though. He had helped uncage the beast. Emboldened by the example of City Hall, the Kluxers shed their anonymity and came forth. Open-housing supporters demonstrated in white, blue-collar neighborhoods. There were ugly confrontations. Martin Luther King was in and out of town and assigned some of his staff people to Louisville. There were threats to disrupt the Kentucky Derby and the city was trembling on the edge of violence. City Hall lost its cool, police began arresting on trumped-up charges open-housing demonstrators, including an Episcopal clergyman who was the grand-nephew of the late Justice Brandeis. The charge: "criminal syndicalism."

It was a summer of almost weekly false alarms about imminent rioting in the West End, where most of Louisville's Negroes live. Why Louisville escaped while Detroit and Newark and other cities were in flames, was a miracle of a sort. Some attributed it to apathy. The Mayor, who has an advanced case of foot-in-mouth disease, said the Negroes were behaving

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themselves like good darkies should because they knew nothing was to be gained by violence and because they knew how good they had it in old Louisville.

A more credible conjecture is that the lid was kept on because there was an election coming up in November. Some civil-rights groups started concentrating on voter-registration drives. The Democrats were the only alternative to the incumbent Republican aldermen, but it cannot be said that they drew the issue boldly. They didn't have to. Everyone knew the majority of the incumbents were dead set against open housing.

It was close, but when the votes had been counted and recounted, all of the Republican aldermen had been unseated except one – and she was one of three who had voted in favor of open housing in the spring. Some of the Negro precincts went 5-to-1 Democratic. Even before the new aldermen took office they were having a strong open-housing ordinance drafted. At their first regular meeting it was introduced, and at the second one it passed. They did what could have been done by their predecessors a year before with no more repercussions. Mayor Schmied was true to form to the last, however. He declined to sign the ordinance, but he announced he wouldn't veto it either (the aldermen would have overridden a veto), and it became law without the Mayor's signature.

WILLIAM PEEPLES

Cyprus: No Change

Nicosia

Greece's junta-backed government correctly assessed how few people were prepared to throw up the barricades under the banner of a monarchy that was, at best, only tolerated. Constantine overestimated his popularity and underestimated the exhaustion of a nation wearied by coups, civil war and frequent collapse of governments. He also underestimated the junta's iron control over the armed forces. Key officers had sealed orders against such an eventuality long before Constantine attempted his coup.

The young king may yet slip back from exile into Athens' Tatoi Palace, on ostensibly face-saving terms. The junta needs Constantine, to avoid being ostracized. Other countries are unwilling to accredit ambassadors to an upstart government that does not have even the cover of the monarchy.

The three strong men of the junta, Papadopoulos, Patakos and Makarezos, retired themselves from the army to emerge as civilian politicians. This was seen as a bid to clean up their image and set the stage for new elections, possibly with the three as civilian candidates. And they might very well sweep the country. There are no indications of a change of policy toward Cyprus, or of canceling the agreement with Turkey for withdrawal of Greek troops from the island. An attempt to do so would bring Greece and Turkey, both members of NATO, back to the brink of war over Cyprus. The union of the island with Greece (Enosis) now seems a dead issue. Its leading exponent, General George Grivas, who until recently led and trained the Cyprus National Guard, has been held incommunicado in Athens, since his recent recall to Greece under pressure on Greece by Turkey.

The government of Cyprus has apparently made no changes in the short-range policy it hammered out during the week following the Turkish invasion threat. The President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, hoped to pull the problem away from NATO – particularly from Greece and Turkey – and into the United Nations. Cyprus has already asked for Security Council guarantees against invasion, and would agree to an enlarged UN mandate, giving troops already on the island greater power to avert intercommunal clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

In fact, the Cyprus government has little hope of success at the UN. What it really wants is time to negotiate locally with the Turkish Cypriots. Should this fail and a second armed conflict loom, Makarios will have to play it by ear.

At present, there are at least four divergent viewpoints among Makarios' advisers. The first is a belief that in any new showdown the mainland junta cannot afford to desert Cyprus a second time. There was natural discontent among officers and men who were hustled aboard troopships without a fight and under a humiliating ultimatum from Turkey. Presumably, they carried their resentment home with them to Greece.

The second view is that the US and Russia would pressure Turkey out of war with Cyprus, the former to avoid a clash between NATO members, the latter to preclude a NATO presence in Cyprus in any partition settlement which might follow a war.

A third opinion is that the departure of Greek troops has deprived Cyprus of any bargaining lever she might have had with Turkey, and that cantons for the island's Turkish minority will have to be conceded.

The fourth opinion takes a long look at the Russian power buildup in the Mediterranean since the Arab-Israeli war in June, and at signs of Turkish reappraisal of Turkey's role as staunch NATO ally, and Turkey's increasingly cordial relations with the Soviet Union. Although Turkey may be bluffing, the US may feel it necessary to help throw part of Cyprus to Turkey, perhaps in canton form, as a sop to keep Turkey firmly within the NATO alliance.

BARBARA CORNWALL

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Norman Thomas: **A Combative Life**

by Roger N. Baldwin

Norman Thomas has always been the public man; he joined three debating clubs at Princeton, and his whole life has been a debate. He has had no private interests or recreations aside from family life. I once got him to join me in the country, thinking to give him some relaxation doing a bit of work around the farm. Trimming apple trees offered diverting exertion and I got him up a tree with a saw and clipper. But even in that precarious position he never stopped a minute from a discussion, rather a monologue, on politics. I gave up after that trying to get him to join me on country weekends.

Recently when he was getting shaky in the legs from arthritis, I asked him why on earth he traveled all over the country making speeches with a secretary to help him get about, remarking that I never would dream of punishing myself as he was doing. He replied, "I know you wouldn't, but you aren't an evangelist!"

That has always been Thomas' strength as a leader, instantly indignant at any injustice and ready to jump into action. Action to Thomas, whose early calling and training was as a minister, was speaking. He knew he was eloquent and he loved to arouse an audience. On the platform, as he said to me, the adrenalin began to run. He could rise from a chair where he looked near exhaustion, deadly pale in his later years, and put such passion and wit into a speech as to win a standing ovation.

And exactly that happened during his last speech in Chicago six weeks ago to a labor audience opposed to the Vietnam war. He returned to New York that night where he suffered a stroke, and has since been hospitalized. But he was planning on going the next day to keep another speaking date and to wind up his traveling and his New York office on January 1. Illness beat him to it. Unable to walk, totally blind and deaf enough to need a hearing aid, he is nevertheless still involved in the day's news and dictates to his secretary.

Debating was Thomas' delight and strength. He won most of his victories that way, not at the polls as a six-time candidate for President. Even if he had no opponent on the platform he handled his speech as if it were a debate. There was always the unseen opponent and he was always some perpetrator of injustice. Thomas' power over an audience came from sharing indignation, not from painting utopias or prophesying the victory of a revolution, like so many socialist orators. He attacked; he defended only by attack; and he did it deftly with enough humor and sarcasm to keep the laughs coming. He learned, he told me, not to be too hard on a weak opponent, because the audience would then turn to him out of sympathy. In the last weeks before his illness he debated the John Birch Society's Robert Welch at Yale, and let him off easy for that reason.

Norman Thomas has always been a champion of civil liberties for peoples everywhere, without exception. His socialism was Marxist only in the basic assumptions of public ownership and state regulation, and to them he always wedded democratic control and civil liberties. Even in his most resolute opposition to communists, he defended their rights stoutly, and more personally at public meetings than did the representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union. He was not bound by legal cautions, nor by fear of being identified with communists.

He has also been a man of the streets as well as of the platform. He believes in publicity for his causes, never shunning any effective method, however dramatic. He knew he had a constituency that wanted to hear from him, and he kept himself before them. "Why did you write that letter to the President?" I once asked him. "It won't do any good." "No," he replied, "I know that, but I have a duty to people who expect me to speak up."

Thomas is of course an organization man, but he was so much the leader and spokesman for any cause he backed that he shaped policy. He was a passionate pleader, and he overcame those with weaker convictions. A faithful board member of any organization, he was always vocal and always ready with a position. I have heard that his views largely influenced the board of SANE, which he was instrumental in establishing, and which has responded vigorously to every crisis in international relations involving United States policy.

For over 40 years he attended the weekly (or later biweekly) board meetings of the ACLU, participating in its public test meetings challenging public restrictions, and pushing defense of all comers to the limits of the Bill of Rights, while bitterly attacking communists and others hostile to civil liberties. I never knew

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him to fail a single challenge to the integrity of our purposes.

Thomas got caught up unawares in the network of CIA support of anti-communist movements. He represented the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a CIA beneficiary, and headed a movement to train Latin American democratic leaders in Costa Rica, almost completely subsidized by the CIA through an established foundation. It was an unusual excursion into new territory for Thomas, but he was totally unsuspecting of being used.

Like all public men who react to their times, Thomas changed his views to meet events. He was a strong pacifist in World War I, later an editor of a pacifist Christian magazine. But World War II found him with reservations. He resigned from the pacifist organization, as he had resigned from the Christian ministry long before. He could support the need of national defense when attacked. He could support a police action in Korea or the defense of its legal government by the Spanish Loyalists, for whose volunteer foreign brigade he recruited.

I went through these years with Thomas as a member of the Civil Liberties Board, a colleague in international action for human rights, in the Spanish struggle, and in a dozen other efforts for American aid to those fighting for justice abroad. I never voted for him because I was a political independent who believed in practical choices. I never marched with him in parades and demonstrations. I am not of that temperament. He was always the man of the crowds, a leader who felt close to his people.

I have never seen anything petty or vengeful in Norman, though I have seen him provoked to anger. He could denounce; he could fight with friends, but he held no grudges. He had enemies, plenty who did not know him, few who did. He has been dismissed by many, perhaps most, for what he admits himself he essentially is, a dissenter from the system and values of American society, a champion of a better socialist society, but an opponent of any society, whatever its label, marked by oppression of the human spirit or denial of equality and justice. That testimony has made its impression, acknowledged by those who accept and those who reject his philosophy. I know he has often been discouraged by what he considers the failures of his activities, as well as by the desperate state of the human race. But he persisted to the last ounce of strength on the last day of his public life to testify to a faith that he cannot lose.

ROGER N. BALDWIN *has been the driving spirit of the American Civil Liberties Union since 1917 and is honorary president of the International League for the Rights of Men.*

Israel's Tough Stand on Captured Territories

Tel Aviv

One finds little optimism in Israel. There has been a hardening of public opinion. As old Hashomer Hatzair, a left-leaning *kibbutznik* from Galilee, told me: "If I still had some hope, I would believe that Arab progressives will some day help to bring about a rapprochement between the Arab states and Israel. But since May 1967, I have ceased to believe in any Arab, progressive or reactionary."

A young engineer, a reserve captain in Israel's armored division, just returning from a bitter exchange with Egyptians over the Canal, stated, "Not one inch back, they are lucky we didn't go as far as Cairo."

A colonel in the regular army said unequivocally: "Our campaigns in Sinai in 1948 and 1956 were successful in a military sense only. If the 1967 campaign was conducted within the same political straitjacket as our past experiences, that is not enough. We need a new political lebensraum. Israel's defensible borders must be the Mount of Hermon, the Jordan River and the Suez Canal."

While peering down at the Lake of Kinneret from a bunker on the Syrian Heights, I overheard one woman tell her son, "You see, they could have killed every *kibbutznik* in Ha'on, En-Gev or Tel-Katzir." The son, in uniform, answered: "If we possessed these ridges, I could hit each *kolboynik* [a waste can set in the center of every table in a *kibbutz* common dining room]."

At their meeting at the LBJ ranch this week, Israel Premier Levi Eshkol and Mr. Johnson would no doubt discuss those political realities which Eshkol must face back home. He has to take them into account when President Johnson asks for help to achieve a compromise settlement in the Middle East and assist King Hussein of Jordan out of his difficulties. Eshkol, for his part, would be bound to ask the US for modern war jets to offset the Soviet rebuild-up of Arab air strength.

With one exception (RAKACH, the Arab-dominated pro-Chinese Communist Party) there are no "doves" in Israel on the issue of the future of the "liberated" territories. All agree that the "liberated" territories are a major key to a lasting peace with the Arabs.

The most moderate position is advanced by the left-of-center Independent Liberal Party, some MAPAI Party members, and a group of Hebrew University professors. They believe that a cure of the Arab refugee problem would go far to alleviate

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antagonism between Arabs and Jews. For this reason, they feel that Israel should keep the territories (with the exception of Jerusalem and some minor border territories, of course) for bargaining purposes only. They are cool to any proposal for integrating the western bank into Israel. They think Israel should take a less rigid stand at the UN and favor relying, to some extent, on the support of Israel's Western friends. A few government ministers from the National Religious (MAFDAL) and MAPAM Parties hold similar views.

The majority of the people favor a tougher line than the moderates. If this group had to choose between a larger garrisoned state or breaking down the Arab wall of hatred, they would choose the second course. The future of the western bank of the Jordan is crucial to their strategy. They advocate a "pure" Jewish state and oppose integration of the Arab peoples of the western bank. They are unwilling to integrate Arab Palestine, but also unwilling to return this land to King Hussein short of a tough bargain for *real* peace.

A variety of plans for the western bank have been put forward, but none of them go so far as to imply that Israel is "stuck" with a million Arabs. They do not want to give Hussein the impression that this so-called "demographic problem" (as the Israelis refer to it) will force Israel to come to easy terms with Jordan.

The chief spokesmen for this tough approach are Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and General Yigal Allon, Minister of Labor. Eshkol is as hawkish as his general staff; he favored direct confrontation with the Egyptians before Dayan became Defense Minister. These men are reluctant to push any political movement for an independent Arab Palestine because they do not want to complicate their bargaining position with Hussein. However, they appear quite willing to encourage moderate nationalist and anti-leftist Arab politicians in the southern region by permitting responsible leaders in Bethlehem (which asked to become a part of Israel but was turned down), Hebron and Ramallah to organize themselves politically in order to establish effective city administration and to rehabilitate their economies which were damaged in the war. I talked with a number of Arab leaders in this area and found them, for the most part, receptive to this temporary solution. Some Ramallah spokesmen call for the establishment of an independent Arab Palestine within the next five years. Until that should become a reality, however, they would prefer to have their security maintained by the Israeli army positioned along the Jordan River and other key strategic points, hopefully with a guarantee from the UN or the US or both.

The situation in the northern region is more complicated than in the south. Nablus, its capital, is notorious for its militant and extreme nationalists. (This situation also exists in Jerusalem, where you will find many former government ministers, ambassadors, religious leaders and intellectuals who served the Hashamites. These men are frequently as anti-Hussein as they are anti-Israel, however. It was here that opposition to Israeli government control was especially strong in August and September.)

It would seem that Dayan's attitude that "we are not colonialists," and that "we don't aim to impose a Pax Hebraica," has so far been successful in mollifying the dissenters. His indifference to a boycott of schools organized by Arab teachers – "if you want to go, go; if you don't want to go, don't go" – apparently worked because the teachers called it off.

Terrorists who cross the Jordan to sabotage Israeli villages complicate the problem of maintaining security in the western bank. Israeli cabinet ministers and other government officials have made no secret of their increasingly hardened attitude toward Hussein for failing to put a stop to it.

So long as Syria carries the torch for the "liberation of Palestine" and trains the terrorist gangs who cross through Jordan to harass Israel, there will be no talk of returning this strategically priceless territory. The Israeli Nahal Army (an abbreviation for the Fighting Pioneer Youth) are already settling in what were once Syrian military posts on the Golan Heights. The Golan is fast being converted into an Israeli fortress. Dominating the Heights, Israel is secure against attack from Syria and poses a threat to Damascus to discourage a fanatic Ba'athist-army coalition from again entertaining thoughts of a "liberation war" against Israel.

Toughminded realists in the government and outside of it want to negotiate directly with Egypt – without intermediaries. But they realize that Egypt is unwilling to compromise now, that Egypt clings to Soviet support and hopes to induce Britain and France to pressure for the opening of the Canal. They also understand that Egypt wants to persuade the US that Nasser is America's best hope in the Middle East. Israelis know that Egypt might apply enough pressure in the UN – with the help of the Soviets, Yugoslavia and India – to expel Israel from the Canal and other captured territories.

For these reasons, Israeli policymakers hold to an unwavering stand on the future of Egyptian territory. They will not yield one inch until Egypt renounces belligerency, makes a reasonable accommodation toward a negotiated peace, and permits passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal. They believe that a battle of nerves will finally dissolve some of Nasser's stubborn resistance to negotiations and may lead to a realistic solution of the conflict. The presence of Israeli troops along the Suez threatens Egyptian industrialization and

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modernization – the pride of the regime – for most of the new industries are situated along the Canal.

On the whole, most elements in the Israeli government and army and in the public at large feel that the 1967 victory created a new situation in the Middle East favorable to Israel. They believe that the occupied territories are Israel's best hope for securing peace with the Arabs. Whether this is true depends less on the Arabs and Israelis than on the Soviets and Americans.

AMOS PERLMUTTER

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Eugene Who?

Crime, Communism and The Credibility Gap

by Paul Wieck

Grand Island, Neb.

Six weeks after Sen. Eugene McCarthy announced he would run in at least four primaries, including Nebraska, he was still almost a total stranger to Nebraska voters. His principal identifiable support is limited to a small, intellectual circle of students, clergymen, journalists and professors with little influence within the party organization. True, people have heard about him and will hear a great deal more before the May 14 primary. But few have any but the haziest notion of what he stands for or why he's challenging LBJ. If his name comes up in a conversation, its mention usually prompts a discreet silence until someone asks a question along this line: "Just how *does* McCarthy stand on Vietnam?" At that, it is seldom brought up by a Nebraska voter.

In January, this isn't necessarily to Sen. McCarthy's disadvantage, as we shall see.

If Nebraskans don't have very firm ideas about Sen. McCarthy, they do have some thoughts about LBJ. Here, in the heart of Nixon-land, the marijuana grows wild and unplucked (but not unnoticed) and it really doesn't matter whether President Johnson thinks he's Abraham Lincoln in 1864 or Harry Truman in 1948. The voters are in a 1952 mood, when the GOP slogan was "communism, corruption and Korea." Today, it's crime, credibility and Vietnam, in about that order. Unless they're shaken loose by LBJ's response to some dramatic event (as contrasted to something staged, as a trip to Manila, which only increased the credibility gap), the overwhelming majority of Nebraskans appear intent on trooping to the polls to give the GOP candidate, preferably Richard M. Nixon, a resounding majority. Top Democratic officials confide that the GOP percentage this fall could range as high as 60 to 65 percent of the vote against LBJ.

But Nebraska now has a closed primary and the McCarthy-Johnson confrontation will take place outside the mainstream of political thinking in the state today. Thus, just how widespread the disenchantment toward LBJ is among rank-and-file Democratic voters becomes important. It has been measured by several polls, one of them a reader response, "grass roots poll" taken by the Lincoln, Neb., *Star*, the state's only major Democratic newspaper. Taken early in November, before Sen. McCarthy announced, it found *Star* readers giving LBJ only 159 of 342 ballots from readers who identified themselves as Democrats, and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D, N.Y.) getting what the paper itself called an "impressive total" of 116. The remainder were scattered (McCarthy had 13 write-ins near the end).

Yet, party leaders see Sen. McCarthy as getting only 15 to 20 percent of the vote in the primary, all the while admitting that the party's precinct workers aren't enthused enough about LBJ to ring very many doorbells and, if they did, conceding it probably wouldn't make much impact on the traditionally independent behavior of Nebraska's Democrats.

This points up, once again, the importance of Sen. McCarthy's personal campaigning in the state and, at the same time, makes it important to consider the pitfalls he faces in trying to translate those things bothering Nebraskans of both parties – crime, credibility and Vietnam – into votes for himself in the spring primary.

"Crime" is, in large part, a euphemism for the latent racist feeling stirred up by the riots of the last few summers.

It creeps into every conversation. Nebraskans bring it up themselves. For Sen. McCarthy, who wants to combine a massive program of rebuilding the inner city with his concern over Vietnam, it could be a booby trap unless the many voters on the farms and in the small towns who have little or no personal contact either with Negroes or with the problem can be convinced this is the only way to restore law and order. Spending all that money would still bother them even though the growing urbanization of the state (about

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half the population is now concentrated in metropolitan Omaha and Lincoln) is gradually changing public attitudes.

Then there's LBJ's credibility. One Democratic leader who supports LBJ suggested the President "doesn't put forth his best image." In short, he sounds phony to Midwesterners on TV or, at least, did before the "new," punchier, more down-to-earth Johnson came forth at last fall's televised press conference.

The farm program is the best example of the credibility gap at work. Farmers, acutely aware of the gap between Administration claims and their own balance sheets, are bitter – over the dumping of surplus commodities to break prices when they start moving up, over the interest rates they must pay because of inflationary pressures at the same time their own prices are being kept down, over the wartime profits being made by LBJ's contractor friends while farmers are being denied the prosperity that normally comes their way during wartime. At the same time, the National Farmers Organization (NFO) has dug in for the long haul in eastern Nebraska and, although usually strongest in Democratic precincts, is critical of the Administration.

In Nebraska, like Wisconsin, Sen. McCarthy's cause could be decided by the same farmers who will tell you LBJ is "the worst we've ever had."

Vietnam, as an issue, is tricky in the Midwest. Most observers claim there is more sentiment in the Midwest for a more hawkish position than for de-escalation. But, like everywhere else, there is much uncertainty about the war. And there is another risk. Sen. McCarthy could find himself arousing a latent isolationism, rooted partially in an anti-militarism (few Nebraska farmers yearn to have their sons go to West Point) and identified with the pockets of religious pacifism found in the state. The danger of the latter, which causes deep animosities when draft boards start meeting, was illustrated by an ad signed by 500 persons and sponsored by the Nebraska Concerned Democrats. In one county, 16 of the 20 signatures were those of registered Republicans, almost all of them from the county's large Mennonite community, where the sons register as conscientious objectors, to the chagrin of their neighbors. Still another Mennonite community two counties away was well represented. This worries many liberals with personal doubts about LBJ, inasmuch as they see Sen. McCarthy's role in the light of a new isolationism.

There is a tendency to compare the 1968 primary with that of 1952. Certainly, the mood of the state as a whole is similar to that of 16 years ago. And there are some interesting, though yet inconclusive, parallels between now and then.

Sixteen years ago, the late Sen. Hugh Butler, a Republican, put his huge, personal organization to work to pile up a massive write-in vote for his close friend, Sen. Robert A. Taft. Sen. Butler and his troops carried the day in Nebraska that year and kept the Taft bandwagon rolling on toward Chicago. Now, after years of effort, Sen. Roman Hruska (R-Neb.) has put together the same kind of organization – conservative, personal and well-organized. Sen. Hruska likes Nixon and a heavy vote in Nebraska may be crucial for the former Vice President next spring. Since Sen. Hruska's only competitor within the Nebraska GOP, Gov. Norbert Tieman, a small town banker who has enraged many Nebraskans by spending their money more freely than any of his predecessors, also likes Nixon, the latter's chances in the primary are good, despite a gnawing feeling among Nebraskans that Nixon "is a loser."

But the Democrats also had a primary 16 years ago. That year, Sen. Estes Kefauver, fresh from crime-busting (remember the corruption theme) came into the state. The bulk of the regular party organization lined up behind Sen. Robert S. Kerr (D-Okla.), the man handpicked by Judge James C. Quigley, then the boss of an entrenched patronage machine, as a stand-in for President Truman. The Kerr forces drenched the state with Oklahoma oil money. However, Sen. Kefauver, backed by a growing liberal-reform element led by Frank B. Morrison, since elected governor three times, stumped the state and won a decisive victory.

Since then, the Quigley machine has faded out. But the liberal-reform element of the early fifties, like its counterparts elsewhere in the country, has atrophied and now, in fact, constitutes a good part of the party organization backing LBJ (the state central committee has endorsed him).

Aside from the appeal of his crime-busting past and his alignment with a reform element of the party in Nebraska, Sen. Kefauver had one other great asset in the Midwest, namely, the casualness of his personality. Although he stumped the state from dawn to dusk, there was nothing abrasive in his manner to upset Nebraskans, who watch for things like that.

Sixteen years ago, Kefauver's support picked up noticeably among party workers after his first victory in New Hampshire; and McCarthy decided last week to put himself into New Hampshire. Certainly a win there or in Wisconsin or Massachusetts would encourage veterans in states like Nebraska, who are now playing a whispering game with Sen. McCarthy's handful of vocal supporters, to step out into the open.

But the real test must come with the electorate.

They're generally disenchanted with LBJ, willing to listen to McCarthy and waiting to have a look at him.

In that respect, they're like a good many voters everywhere.

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Community Control Of Our Schools

by Joseph Featherstone

New York

Somewhere in this city there has to be an enormous warehouse in which are stored, like surplus grain, all the new educational materials, curricula, and plans for improving the public schools over the past few decades: there are pilot, action, and research projects gathering dust, mountains of task force and citizens' panel reports and statistical studies, and hundreds of remedial and compensatory programs. On the shelves from the 1950's there is a rich collection of material on integration, beginning with the Board of Education's eloquent endorsement of the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision and proceeding through many complicated administrative schemes for getting integration – including a plan for solving the problem by building intermediate schools, and, on the most recent shelves, plans for educational parks, complexes of schools that may appear in 20 years or so. Some weeks ago a report urging decentralization of the New York school system arrived and was duly registered and shelved.

Educational reform tends to be pieces of paper for the warehouse, administrative manifestos that reflect what John Holt has called the general staff mentality. Everything is on a grandiose scale, word goes from the top down, and nothing changes in the classrooms. There is therefore a presumptive suspicion against this sort of thing, even when, as in the case of the Bundy panel's report on decentralization, a serious effort is being made to cut down the distance between top and bottom. By itself administrative reshuffling cannot make much difference; that is the weary lesson of the warehouse.

Still, by its lights, the Bundy report is fairly sweeping. It was produced by an advisory committee, chaired by McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation. (The mayor appointed the committee last spring when he was trying to get more state aid for the city schools, and the legislature told him he must submit a program for decentralization before it would consider giving more money.) If the report's proposals are adopted by the legislature, the city's 900 schools and over a million students would divide into anywhere from 30 to 60 largely autonomous school districts. The boundaries would be set by the state – the Bundy panel was understandably reluctant to dig into that can of worms – and districts would range in size from 12,000 to 40,000 pupils. Each district would be run by a local school board with 11 members, 6 elected by parents of schoolchildren and 5, also community residents, appointed by the mayor. The boards would have power to hire and fire superintendents and teachers, to grant tenure, to determine curricula, and to spend money. The present New York City Board of Education would shrink in significance: its new job would be to oversee the reorganized system, to run all special schools and schools drawing on a city-wide population, to review budgets, and to distribute money according to some set formula. The city Board of Examiners and the whole system of examinations for promotion would disappear; instead, the decentralized districts would simply have to conform to the less mandarin New York state standards in all matters of certification. This last, which is of course a separate matter from decentralization, seems the most obviously and practically useful of the proposals. There is no reason at all for the city's separate standards except to reserve jobs for insiders.

The report is in some respects an ironic commentary on the pendulum of educational reform in this country. For there is no doubt that the intolerably sluggish bureaucracy it attacks is, like a vast institutional coral

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reef, built up from layer after layer of administrative reform. Three generations of reformers worked to make the schools business-like; they wanted efficiency, honesty, and planning on a grand scale. Above all, they tried to develop ways to keep the schools out of politics. To an extent they succeeded: schools are probably more honest than before, they are administered with a mad rationality that is at least more consistent than previous styles of administration, and they are insulated from the public and, perhaps, less involved with political intrigue than they once were. But the old reform goals, which some of the city's bureaucrats are just coming to absorb after 60 years – others shrewdly learned to live with them – have one great defect. They have nothing to do with either teaching or learning. And as if to confuse the bureaucrats and shatter their world, there is a new, clamorous insistence, among Negro and Puerto Rican leaders in particular, that is quite alien to the spirit of the old reform: city schools must be accountable to parents for their failures to teach children. Discontented parents are now sophisticated enough in educational matters to use instruments created by the old reform to discredit the system it built: they are using test results to show that 1 out of 3 pupils in the city are a year behind the national average in reading and arithmetic; the situation is worse in ghetto schools. (It is irrelevant, if sad, that the only standards parents have at the moment are test scores, which have little to do with real learning.) To many, making the schools accountable for these failures means bringing them back into some form of politics, with parents electing school board officials.

This is part of the Bundy report's significance. It is in the tradition of administrative tinkering, to be sure, but its proposals to dismantle the system that administrative reform created are a response to a relatively new demand – that city schools teach. If enough people can keep focusing on that point during the quibbling that will now ensue, perhaps decentralization can set the stage for changes that matter.

Behind the report is an alliance of discontented ghetto leaders and parents, some white civic groups, university and foundation men, and Mayor Lindsay, whose administration has yet to wrest any tangible reform out of the grinding factionalism of New York City politics. Soon the alliance will no doubt include white communities who will see decentralization as a way of keeping their schools white. It does not include a group that a few years ago would have seemed a natural ally in any coalition of the disgruntled, the United Federation of Teachers. It was no surprise that the Board of Education called the report a formula for "administrative chaos" – the very worst thing that can happen in the coral reef – but it was interesting to see the vehemence with which the UFT's president Albert Shanker denounced it. The UFT is a new union, part of the militant American Federation of Teachers, which has so successfully capitalized on the hostility inner city teachers feel toward both the educational bureaucracy and the Negroes and Puerto Ricans filling up the classrooms.

In its brief life, the UFT has made progress. It has brought about better salaries and working conditions. It has shown an interest in improving education as well: The UFT energetically supported the controversial More Effective Schools Program, and has even considered its own scheme for decentralization. Under the Bundy plan, the finances of the schools would remain centralized, and the UFT would still be able to negotiate citywide contracts. It is therefore hard to see exactly what it has to lose.

Mr. Shanker's comments have been partially illuminating. He said the plan was "Balkanization" and predicted it would cost $300 million more to administer. In a more serious vein, he pointed out that it would make integration more difficult, and predicted that turning the schools over to black power advocates would mean a flow of refugee white teachers out of black districts. Mr. Shanker has sounded reasonable about teachers' rights in the past, admitting that parents have rights, too – for instance to take action against wretched or racist teachers as long as some kind of due process is observed. In this case, though, he gives the impression of a man who is not entirely master of his own house. Teachers are always touchy about professional status, because they have so little, but now there is a new element in what Mr. Shanker says: He is forced to stand up for the union rank and file, many of whom are afraid of black people, and therefore afraid of decentralization.

That is one element in the union's stand. There is another, related, element. The UFT feels more powerful than ever. Its successes have led its leaders to expect that they will one day take part in shaping educational policy, and this hope, as well as fear, sharpens its opposition to decentralization. There is always the simple, organizational reality that a big union must have a big enemy to face.

Since September's long teachers' strike in New York, the union has been edging away from ghetto parents whose support, in weaker days, it would have courted. The strike was not popular with black and Puerto Rican parents, particularly in the experimental district around IS 201, a school with a long history of bitter controversy. This district is one of three – IS 201, Ocean Hill-Brownsville, and the Two Bridges area – that have started experimenting with community-run school boards in a kind of dry run for decentralization

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financed by grants from the Ford Foundation. The union has done its best to undermine these experiments, and around IS 201 the UFT is disliked, if that is possible, even more than the Board of Education. Elsewhere, too, activists and many parents have come to see the UFT as an obstacle to bettering the schools. This has the makings of a tragedy, for parents and teachers may not have identical interests, but they do have interests in common against the school administration. Now this alliance is broken, at least with the black and Puerto Rican parents, and it is difficult to see how it can be repaired. The union is not strong enough to prevent some form of decentralization – teachers will probably only strike for wages and working conditions, not for matters of administrative or educational policy – but the UFT's opposition could make the battle for decentralization long, ugly and maybe pointless.

The Bundy report comes in the wake of two developments, both of which are separate from the issue of decentralization, but have been wrapped into the same package. The first is a growing disbelief in the kind of compensatory programs school systems have been trying for poor children. The report reflects a feeling that nobody within the schools knows what has to be done, and a hope that a decentralized system will offer more opportunities for different approaches. Decentralization might, in this view, set the stage for educational experimentation. It seems worth trying. There is something disturbing, though, in the way that proponents of decentralization have pinned their hopes on universities and private industry, which are widely assumed to have a great deal to offer slum schools. Universities and schools of education have been unable to provide adequate training for slum teachers, and the record of the universities since they have launched on the business of doing good for the poor is spotty at best. As of now, it is extremely difficult to say whether private industry has the will or the ability to be of any real help to inner city education. This may change, but until there is evidence to the contrary, there is no reason to suppose that universities and industries are any less venal, or more knowledgeable about education than the present school system. This is not an argument against making use of them: their entry does provide new possibilities for change. They are not yet locked into any position; they make the situation more fluid, and that is to the good. But there are reasons for being wary of them. To put the matter baldly: education is a growth industry. It is also a battleground on which university people and new industries are struggling against entrenched, but insecure administrators. This is a fascinating historical phenomenon, but it has no necessary connection with improving teaching or learning.

The second development is the idea that integration may not, after all, be *the* major priority in inner city education. Different people have arrived at that conclusion by different roads. Some despair of integration through the schools because they have been fighting for it since 1954 with no results. A litany of unfulfilled promises on integration – best exemplified by the long campaign over IS 201 – leads many Puerto Ricans and Negroes to insist that if they are going to have segregation anyway, they want to have it on their own terms. David Spencer, a veteran of the IS 201 wars, puts it: "Nobody from outside is going to tell us what kind of segregated school we're going to have." The issue of integration, in the ghettos, at least, has paralyzed everyone and wasted energies in symbolic controversies that have done nothing to improve the schools. And each year, as the talk goes on, another crop of miseducated children is sown.

Feeding into the anger and impatience of people who have fought for integration, the idea has arisen that schools run by black people for black people might be a good thing. Although the Bundy report skirts the theoretical question, it clearly offers a practical opportunity to make something productive out of the babble of voices in the city talking black power. There will surely be black majorities on school boards whose districts are black, and it is a safe bet that more of the administrators will be black, too. This is probably the only way that schools in black districts will be able to recover what, stretching a word, might be called their legitimacy; for in many parts of the city the schools are nearly totally discredited as public institutions. There is no trust. If decentralization and a measure of black power come to certain districts, there will, as Mr. Shanker says, probably be an initial migration out by white teachers. Yet good slum schools in New York, when they exist, attract good teachers, white and black, and some even have waiting lists. Whether black districts will be able to draw on white talent they will probably need depends on how committed they are to good education. If the fury over test scores is any measure, interest in good schools (however badly defined) is growing in the slums; people who have despaired for themselves still have hope for their children. There is at least a basis for thinking that the black districts will be eager to use white talent, as liberated colonies have found it wise and necessary to employ skilled members of the old colonial regime.

This is a minimum program for what the Bundy report rather misleadingly calls "community schools." By community schools it means schools that are accountable to parents for their failures. This is what most aroused black and Puerto Rican parents are talking about now. The proposed districts are still very

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large, and nothing in the Bundy report necessarily implies parent participation in any other sense than electing school boards, the model in everyone's mind being suburbs and their school boards. There is nothing wrong with this. Suburban schools are somewhat better than city schools; the best of them, as Jeremy Larner has pointed out, maintain their quality precisely because the school board makes the superintendent responsible and then gives him a relatively free hand. Participation – in the sense of public meddling in the schools – has a long and unhappy history in this country, and as of now good schools, suburban and private, are those that are least interfered with. This will be a lesson for decentralized school boards to ponder. Right now, at any rate, the clamor in New York seems to be mainly for good services – schools that teach – and not for participation. The Bundy report meets this minimum insistence; it makes the schools accountable. Although it speaks of helping parents to shed their feeling of powerlessness by voting in board elections, this seems farfetched. The districts may be too large for any sense of personal involvement, and turnouts for school board elections are usually meager anyway. (This has been true of elections for the three experimental districts.)

There is, however, another sense in which some people – activists, former poverty program workers, romanticizers of the poor, and a few poor people – are talking about a different kind of community school. What they are describing might be called the maximum program: institutions that will systematically involve parents in the life of the school. The point is to have schools that give parents a sense that they can play a role in shaping their children's future. Such community schools will probably have to be small neighborhood affairs, perhaps even the tiny units Paul Goodman has proposed, consisting of a licensed teacher, a college graduate, a housewife, and a high school graduate with a class of 28 pupils of mixed ages. Or they could be larger, on the model of Boston's Community School or the New School for Children. Community schools of this kind scarcely exist, and where they do, they are just beginning to build a community, for nothing takes more time and patience.

If decentralization does come to New York, the beginnings will be chaotic, to judge by the experience of the three experimental districts. There are some problems which are true of all community schools, whether they intend a minimum or a maximum program. There is the problem that at the outset there is no real community. In a small school this means that a circle of insiders starts the school and then gradually and with much distress has to link the school into the lives of other people, who are often apathetic or suspicious. On a larger scale – in the experimental districts, for example – there is the same problem magnified. Elections are opened to a district that is not organized, that is not a community in any of the many senses of the word. Any given area, including any given black area of a city like New York is seething with suspicion and mistrust. Groups that are already organized – such as people in poverty programs – are ready to act, and their expertise often creates tremendous suspicion among groups that are slower to organize. There is a terrific, occasionally justified, fear of whichever group begins inside the inner circle. The electoral process is only part of the battle, for then the schools, the principals, and the teachers have to be meshed into the new district. The process happens in many different ways, but all of them are laborious and painful. It is still being worked out in the three experimental districts, which have held elections for their boards and are now just beginning to embark on the job of showing New York City what decentralization might mean. Whether it will mean any improvement for teachers or children remains an open question.

In Hot Pursuit

by Alex Campbell

It is always interesting to watch a cliff-hanger develop. "Hot pursuit" of Cambodia may be said to have begun in Washington on November 17, when General Westmoreland privately told newsmen of his concern about that country becoming a major supply route for communist forces in South Vietnam. ["But Don't Tell Anyone I Told You," *NR* Dec. 9, 1967]

A few days later, reliable old Gen. Eisenhower followed through on television. In a talk with General of the Army Omar N. Bradley on CBS, he suggested a policy of hot pursuit of North Vietnamese forces which he said were striking at allied positions from the borders of Cambodia or Laos. Repeating himself in an interview on December 22 with Felix Belair, Jr. of *The New York Times*, Eisenhower said: "We cannot carry our respect for borders to the point of permitting

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the enemy guns to clobber our positions south of the DMZ [demilitarized zone.]" This moved Gen. James M. Gavin to say to UPI that Eisenhower's endorsement of hot pursuit was intended to prepare the public for such action. Gavin said Eisenhower wouldn't make such statements without the knowledge of the White House, nor would he make them without being briefed by "someone in the Pentagon." Eisenhower denied the allegation. However, by then it was known that, on Dec. 4, the State Department had sent a stiff note to Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia. The note drew his attention to the presence on Cambodian soil of "enemy bases." According to John W. Finney, writing in *The New York Times* on December 29, the State Department did not deny an "implied threat of military action" against Cambodia if diplomacy failed.

Meanwhile, President Johnson had been on his trip around the world in four and a half days with about 400 people along. According to the Associated Press, he found in Australia "gathering sentiment" among America's allies for increased troop participation in South Vietnam. On Christmas Day, Richard Halloran reported in *The Washington Post* from Seoul that South Korean President Park Chung Hee wanted attacks on the Viet Cong and on North Vietnamese bases, supply lines and planes, "regardless of boundaries," whether in Laos, Cambodia, or China. Turning up unexpectedly in Paris, South Vietnamese Foreign Minister Tran Van Do promised that South Vietnamese troops would hotly pursue the enemy across the border into Cambodia.

In *The New York Times* on Dec. 27, Hanson Baldwin in a long discussion of the Vietnam war said that "the enemy can no longer find security in his South Vietnam sanctuaries," so was using "19 bases, in Cambodia and Laos and near the DMZ in North Vietnam." Baldwin said six bases were in Cambodia, 10 in Laos, and three at the DMZ. According to Baldwin, food for the bases in Cambodia and in Laos was bought in the Cambodian capital, Pnom Penh, "and brought to the bases by the so-called Sihanouk trail, which connects with the Ho Chi Minh trail through Laos." And he added: "In recent months, just about as many deep-draught ships have been calling at Sihanoukville, the Cambodian port, as at Haiphong. Many of these are Chinese communist vessels. . . ." Baldwin said that American officials in Saigon "believe that the policy of diplomatic restraint, intended to win over Prince Sihanouk, has become futile." Therefore, the use of South Vietnamese troops supported by American air power and artillery against enemy sanctuaries in Laos and Cambodia was being canvassed, as were "probes into North Vietnam" to get at enemy artillery in or behind the DMZ.

On Dec. 29, *The Washington Post* put a cat among the hawks. It published answers that Sihanouk had supplied to questions sent him by the paper's correspondent Stanley Karnow in Hong Kong. Sihanouk "categorically" affirmed there could not be "bases worthy of that name" on Cambodian soil. But he said he would receive an envoy of President Johnson (Chester Bowles is going) to discuss the sanctuaries issue. Sihanouk intimated he would be militarily helpless to repel an "illegal" American invasion of Cambodia in hot pursuit of, and engaging in "limited combat" with Viet Cong or North Vietnamese units taking refuge in "outlying and uninhabited regions of our country, difficult to control." (Cambodia's armed forces total 44,000 men.) But Sihanouk said Cambodia would resist any entry by South Vietnamese forces, for the Vietnamese, North or South, were Cambodia's traditional enemies. Also, Cambodia would resist an American entry that went beyond hot pursuit in uninhabited areas, and in that case Cambodia would seek help from Russia and China as well as from the United Nations. Chinese aid would be requested in the form of volunteers under Cambodian command. However, Sihanouk said he would welcome a strengthening of the International Control Commission, and for that purpose would accept American assistance. The ICC was set up in 1954 at the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, and its members are Russia, Poland, India and Canada. Sihanouk criticized Russia and Poland for having hitherto refused to permit additional American logistical assistance to the ICC.

An early response to Sihanouk's statements came from Peking. The Chinese *People's Daily* said China would give Cambodia "all-out support" if the United States extended the Vietnam war to Sihanouk's country. In *The Washington Post* on December 30, Murrey Marder reported the State Department's response to Sihanouk's statements. Commenting on Sihanouk's frank admission that his little country was "caught between the hammer and the anvil," an official told

COMING: *commentary on a recent "moderate" Vietnam manifesto— by John K. Fairbank*

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Marder brutally, "he got the message." The same day, the UPI in Saigon reported Westmoreland's deputy, Gen. Crighton W. Abrams, saying that "hot pursuit" into Cambodia is "quite a little ways off militarily," and that he knew of no incidents of American troops receiving fire from the Cambodian side since last April, although "we watch this like a hawk." However, on December 31 *The Washington Post* reported Abrams as having added that "hot pursuit" should "only come when you have large bases at a place like Loc Ninh – you want to be able to support your people, not have somebody running across with a company and getting all snarled up." Abrams also remarked that "profits could be gained if communist sanctuaries were hit" only when supply lines allowed large-scale operations. "You want a pay-off," Abrams said.

While Washington pondered Sihanouk's message, attention switched to Laos. On December 27, the UPI in Vientiane had quoted the Laotians as saying that North Vietnamese units which had been defeated by American and South Vietnam forces near Dakto had spilled over into Laos and occupied several villages near Saravane. *The New York Times* quoted Washington officials saying North Vietnamese attacks against Laotian positions were "serious." State Department officials told *The Washington Post's* Murrey Marder that "hope has not been abandoned of achieving some diplomatic solution to the sanctuary problem in Cambodia," but that they were "more immediately" concerned with Laos, where the North Vietnamese might "expand the pattern of warfare."

Laos is a country of three million people where life has long resembled that of Germany during the Thirty Years War. The Royal Laotian and communist Pathet Lao armies both plunder the peasants. So do provincial and district chiefs. Laos gets more American aid per head than any other country in the world. Some of this goes for irrigation. Unfortunately, irrigated areas then tend to be claimed as personal property by wealthy landlords, who promptly turn the peasants into serfs.

Then Thailand got into the act. The Associated Press reported from Bangkok on December 27 that Thai troops had been airlifted to positions near the northern border "to face three communist battalions in Laos." The Thais claimed the communists were trying to cross their border. On Dec. 29, Chalmers Roberts reported in *The Washington Post* "evidence that what eventually could amount to as much as two new divisions may now be infiltrating through Laos toward South Vietnam," and that "the major communist units now employ the strategy of fighting from sanctuaries . . . they use thus-far secure bases in Cambodia and Laos from which to attack American forces across the borders in South Vietnam." They did this because the United States had made their previous base camps in South Vietnam "insecure or unusable." Westmoreland intended to go on pursuing such enemy forces, in line with his policy of attrition of the enemy, and wanted authority to hit the camps in Laos and Cambodia; but Sihanouk's statement of December 28 "probably will forestall any immediate American military action into Cambodia." However, in the "far more serious" Laos situation, there could be American intervention "to cut the Ho Chi Minh trail and thus finally halt infiltration from North to South." Up to now, Roberts said, "Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Laotian prime minister, has consistently rejected the entry into his country of American forces, but he could change his mind." Sure enough, on December 31, the UPI reported from Vientiane that Souvanna was talking about "inhuman aggression by the warmongers of North Vietnam," and UPI said "as many as 40,000 North Vietnamese troops may be on Laotian soil in the communist effort to keep the supply lines open to South Vietnam." This, although just the day before the Laotian government had reported a lull in fighting, and that alleged battles in southeastern Laos had turned out to be only minor skirmishes, probably over the rice harvests.

During his hour and 40 minutes in Vietnam on Dec. 23, President Johnson had told the GIs at Camranh Bay, "we're not going to yield and we're not going to shimmy. All the challenges have been met. The enemy is not beaten, but he knows he has met his master." Carrol Kilpatrick dryly observed in *The Washington Post* that this was Mr. Johnson's second visit to Camranh Bay. "Apparently no other base is yet sufficiently secure for General Westmoreland to advise a visit" by the President.

Camranh Bay is 190 miles northeast of the Mekong River Delta. In *The New York Times* of December 23, R. W. Apple, Jr., described the long-drawn fight for the delta, where six million of South Vietnam's 17 million people live. Apple said if Saigon failed to penetrate the everyday life in the villages and hamlets, as the Viet Cong had successfully done, then "what happens at Dakto and in War Zone C and over Hanoi will not amount to much." An American, "one of the most capable military officers in Vietnam," told Apple that in the delta "nothing has changed much for the last 20 years. We aren't making any real progress." Apple said the Viet Cong still dominate the delta, and added: "Along the Cambodian border, the allied position has deteriorated sharply." He concluded by observing that much of the rice of the lower delta is diverted by the Viet Cong from Saigon to Cambodia. To accomplish this, the Viet Cong simply charge lower taxes for rice bound for Cambodia. In Cambodia, the Viet Cong's agents can buy it.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

The Colors of Camus

The sun – the Algerian sun – was an important part of Albert Camus' early being. It runs all through the first volume of his *Notebooks*. ("The sun on the quays. . . and the port leaping with light.") And it is integral to his first novel *The Stranger:* the crucial moment of murder occurs when Meursault is in the grip of that same Algerian sun. Luchino Visconti has understood this essential thematic element perfectly. In his color film of *The Stranger*, apparently shot on location, Visconti has aimed to make the sun a benefaction, an oppression, an ambience. One of the world's master cinematographers, Giuseppe Rotunno, who worked on such previous Visconti pictures as *The Leopard*, has helped. The result is a film from which the sun is figuratively never absent; shadows, twilights, nights seem temporary respite from the "leaping light."

The Stranger (Paramount)

This visual realization of the atmosphere is only the beginning of the film's achievements. Visconti has got a faithful screenplay from Suso Cecchi D'Amico, Georges Conchon, and Emmanuel Robles. However, to say that the script is faithful to Camus is both to praise it and delimit it. It does the most, dramatically and cinematically, that is possible with the book, without any substantive alteration (which would have been intolerable), yet its fidelity gives it the same level as that of films about Jesus. Such films, even one so genuine as Pasolini's, always rise to a plateau and stay on it because there is no hero. A hero must have some illusions and must struggle as a result of them. Jesus is not deceived and will not struggle. So with Meursault.

This gives Visconti's film, like Camus' novel, a quality of observation and patience. The drama is not overt; it is internal, the inevitable abrasion between the protagonist's inner state and the world's protocol. But the film is at a disadvantage in comparison with the novel because of one central matter of technique: Camus evokes a pervasive somnambulistic quality by putting a good deal of Meursault's dialogue into direct discourse. One example among dozens:

> "'Why,' [the chaplain] asked, 'don't you let me come to see you?'
> I explained that I didn't believe in God.
> 'Are you really so sure of that?'
> I said I saw no point in troubling my head about the matter; whether I believed or didn't was, to my mind, a question of so little importance."

This technique is impossible in film. If Meursault's indirect answers were put on the soundtrack as narration, we would see his lips move as he replied. Or even if his face were not shown, the flip-flop from the chaplain's direct speech to Meursault's narrated replies would have the opposite of the intended effect. It would destroy the texture of the scene, whereas, in the novel, the device creates texture – suspended, dreamlike, *life*like.

But facing the book's difficulties and intent on rendering it authentically, Visconti has made a beautiful, discreet, perceptive film of this epochal work of the 20th-century Western world. Pictures, in the specific sense, have never been difficult for him; on the contrary, he has tended to indulge himself by slapping pictures all over our eyeballs in films like *The Leopard* and *Sandra*. Here he has *used* his pictorial sense, rather than spewed it. There are plenty of extraordinary things to look at: the skylighted air of the mortuary in an old-folks' home, the Algerian streets and rooms (with the smell almost visible), the sensual blending of sea and sun. And when Meursault is in his cell, Visconti (with Rotunno) increases the isolation by increasingly isolating the prisoner's countenance until only his face is embodied out of the dark. But never is the picture merely beautiful. Visconti was obviously deeply committed to Camus, and all his previously obtrusive virtuosity is here totally at Camus' service.

Excellently as Visconti has worked, he could not have accomplished what he has done without the art of Marcello Mastroianni, as Meursault. There is a paradox here because, in this French-language film, Mastroianni's lines were dubbed by another actor. The dubbing is well done, and the effect is not as jarring as it might otherwise have been – particularly because most of Meursault's dialogue is flat, merely responsive. The performance is made in Mastroianni's face – as he watches from his window on a long Sunday, as he watches his trial from the witness stand, as he watches his death approach him in his cell. Mastroianni was a Visconti discovery; I first saw him as Biff in Visconti's production of *Death of a Salesman* in Rome. Lately he has been walking through some pseudo-Italian Italian comedies. Here, put to the test in a fine role by his mentor (at *his* best), Mastroianni shows us one kind of film acting at its purest: mind and feeling revealed, rather than conveyed, by utmost imagination and simplicity.

Anna Karina, as his girl, responds to Visconti the way she rarely responded to her previous chief employer, Jean-Luc Godard, and gives a live, sympathetic performance. Georges Wilson, Bernard Blier, and Georges Geret (as the pimp friend who starts all the trouble) are exactly right.

It is a truism that the better a novel, the harder it is to make a good film of it. Visconti's version of *The Stranger* is not the exception that proves the rule. Some film adaptations are superior to their originals, which of course this one could not be; some are more or less the equivalent of their originals, which this is not. But this *is* the expression, through their art, by some fine film artists of their sympathy and love for Camus' great book.

A word about the way the film has been treated in this country. Para-

(Continued on page 40)

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Books and the Arts

How They Die in Vietnam

by Herbert R. Coursen Jr.

Air War: Vietnam is an expansion of an article which appeared in *Flying Magazine*. Frank Harvey had been recommended to *Flying* by the Pentagon as the man best qualified to report on the aerial phase of the Vietnam War. "I am not a dove," Mr. Harvey says, "neither am I a hawk. I am a reporter." Mr. Harvey's book is, however, far more dovish than otherwise, and

Air War: Vietnam
by Frank Harvey
(Bantam paperback; 75 cents)

might make doves of hawks, or of ostriches who read it.

The hawkish point of view is reiterated again and again by the men to whom Harvey talked:

> "All during my trip I asked our troops how they felt about the war. Ninety percent gave me roughly the same answer: 'We have to stop Communism and we'd rather do it here in Vietnam than on the coast of California'."
>
> "'In fact,' Winchell concluded, 'I feel very good about it and I still do. I think it's great that a country like the US will back up with force what it says it believes. You can't sit behind your fortress and let things like that happen just because it's 10,000 miles away'."
>
> "I think it is safe to say that, almost without exception, the pilots I talked to were heartily in favor of the war, felt no compunctions at all about bombing things in North Vietnam, and held the standard GI opinion: 'We have to stop Communism here – or face it later, closer to home'."

Speaking for himself, Harvey offers another reason for our "presence": "Diem, backed by us (and maybe we had the best intentions!), put the Vietnamese people in a position where all possible avenues of legal procedure were exhausted. They had nothing to lose."

Regardless of the accuracy of Harvey's history, the book demonstrates that *now*, the Vietnamese have less to lose. Harvey expertly details the massiveness of our effort. Some 40 different American combat aircraft are pictured in the center spread, to say nothing of the many new craft which, in Harvey's term, are "just around the corner." Even more awesome, however, is his inventory of our weaponry – from napalm to the 3,000-pound bombs dropped by F-105's over the North, to the vicious CBU.

Of napalm: "I saw bright aluminum cigars detach from [the F-100's] belly and tumble end over end. Two cans of napalm hit without exploding. Then more cans hit and part of the line of huts was obliterated in a rolling cloud of flame. Involuntarily, I looked away. When I looked back two of the huts were burning brightly. 'Couple of duds,' the F-100 jock said disgustedly over his radio. 'The damned igniters must have goofed'."

". . . the man dying of napalm, his face black with third-degree burns, bandages over his whole body, but the festering that follows the death of tissue and the agony that will go on until he dies yet to come, because he is still in shock, and somebody speaks to him and he smiles with his doomed black face."

Of 3,000-pound bombs: "A pilot I talked with said that [they] sent out a visible ripple of shock like a small atomic bomb and dug craters so large that flying over later, you could see them as ponds the size of swimming pools, filled with tropical rainwater."

Of the Cluster Bomb Unit: "One type of CBU consisted of a long canister filled with metal balls about the size of softballs. Inside each metal ball were numbers of smaller metal balls or 'bomblets.' The CBU's were expelled over the target by compressed air. The little bomblets covered a wide swathe in a closely spaced pattern. . . . Some types were fitted with delayed action fuses and went off later when people have come out thinking the area was safe. If a pilot used CBU's properly he could lawnmower for considerable distances, killing or maiming anybody on a path several hundred feet wide and many yards long."

Some ex-schoolboys may remember the colloquy between Gulliver and the King of Brobdingnag: "We often put this powder into large balls of iron, and discharged them by an engine into some city we were besieging, which would rip up the pavements, tear the houses to pieces, burst and throw splinters on every side, dashing out the brains of all who came near." The King is amazed "how so impotent and grovelling an insect as I (these were his expressions) could maintain such inhuman ideas, and in so familiar a manner as to appear wholly unmoved at all the scenes of blood and desolation, which I had painted as the common effects of those destructive machines, whereof, he said, some evil genius, enemy to mankind, must have been the first contriver."

Of the Viet Cong, Harvey says, "Nobody seemed to understand what kept them fighting in the face of such superior weapons. . . . 'Up north here they've at least got trees to hide under,' one pilot told me. 'Down in the Delta it's like a rabbit shoot'."

Harvey juxtaposes the massiveness of our air effort against the meagerness of our aid to the war's victims. He describes our civilian hospital in Can Tho in detail – terribly understaffed, primitively equipped, frightfully overcrowded with extreme medical emergencies. According to the hospital

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commander, "It's not a pretty story. . . . This hospital needs a new laundry – big commercial washers and big commercial dryers. There aren't many Vietnamese doctors to help us – and some of those we've got aren't worth much. We're supposed to handle about 400 patients. We've got near 900. Red tape is handicapping our whole program at various levels. Neil Sheehan of *The New York Times* was here a while ago and I told it to him and he published it. I got a letter of reprimand out of it." As Senator Edward Kennedy said recently, regarding our cutting of medical aid to refugees: "It's shocking to me, this complete lack of any kind of priority for the human problems." Obviously, the Vietnamese have less and less to lose as the war goes on. But, then, there are less and less of them.

A Navy pilot goes into combat for the first time: "He learns how it feels to drop bombs on human beings and watch huts go up in a boil of orange flame when his aluminum napalm tanks tumble into them. He gets hardened to pressing the firing button and cutting people down like little cloth dummies, as they sprint frantically under him. He gets his sword bloodied for the rougher things to come."

A gunship pilot returns after a night mission: " 'Big day,' he said, with a fierce little smile. 'Had to extract the Arvins after dark. Charles baby was on the rampage. He'd have wiped our little buddies out if we'd left them there.'

" 'You kill anybody?' Dick asked.

" 'Yeah – 30. Maybe 40.' Hileman shifted his shoulders the way a man does when he has been sitting in a fixed position and feels stiff. 'Those little mothers were shooting back today, though. I took one through the windshield between me and the gunner and a couple up through the floor.'

"His face was now white and still, and as he shifted away from the lamplight, the glints were gone from his eyes. Under the crushed cap his face suddenly looked like a skull. Then he said, 'Well, you guys, aren't you gonna offer your buddy a drink?' "

A SAC pilot thinks in the night: "Now they have a quite different set of orders. To blast or burn large areas

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of jungle (also roads, buildings and fields) containing living things, animals and men, some innocent and unaware, without warning. It's not a mission of their choosing. It's just the way the ball happened to bounce. But one can't help but wonder what a man thinks about, after he'd set fire to 50 square miles of jungle from high altitude with a rain of fire bombs, and wakes up in his room in the darkness – and lies awake watching the shadows on the ceiling. . . ."

Against the impersonal malevolence of SAC bombs tumbling from 40,000 feet, Harvey places the fantastic skill and courage of the rescuers who pluck their comrades from jungle and sea. But even these stirring episodes ring hollow. Why? Because we have read it before (in *Tales of the South Pacific*, for example)? Because so many in America feel deepest hypocrisy in sending brave men to die for a dubious cause? Because this so protected nation is seeing for the first time what war is, stripped of its patriotic colorations? Because for the past three years we have been the only nation in the world to drop bombs from airplanes? Because we fear all of this will culminate in the very World War this "small war" is supposedly preventing? Whatever the reason, a tragic element lies in the undeniable heroism Harvey describes. And the tragedy offers no catharsis, only despair.

But then, there is the Forward Air Controller who had been ordered to direct artillery against a village because "three VC were reported there this morning." He "got over the village . . . looked down and all he could see were men, women and children walking 'around."

" 'You must have seen a lot of people killed.'

" 'No,' he said. 'No people got killed. Nobody was in the paddy where I directed the artillery fire.' "

He could have "followed orders," then slipped silently back into society with only bad dreams and a fierce, usually unspoken, emotional commitment to the war; because he went through such horror, the war must mean *something*.

But for every compassionate Forward Air Controller, there are many who

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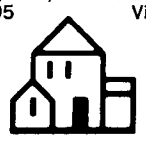
Now at your bookstore  RANDOM HOUSE

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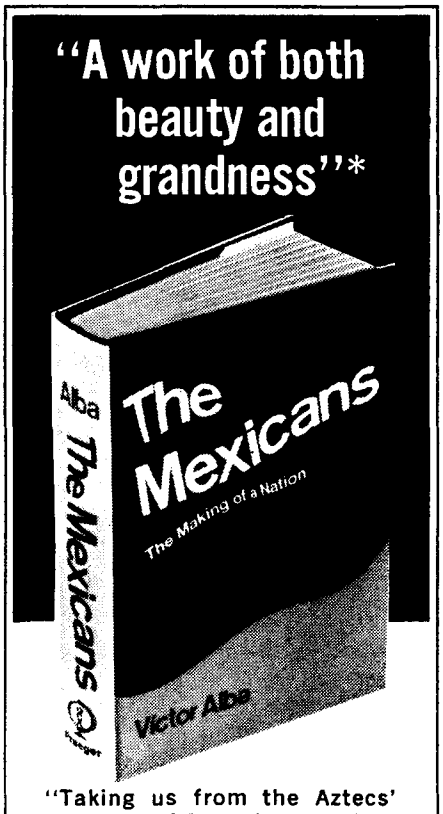
"A work of both beauty and grandness"*



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lend substance to Mr. Harvey's Hobbesian assumptions:

"The truth of it is, most front-line GI's who volunteer for their duty . . . *do* enjoy shooting and killing. There's a great deal of high-flown theory going around that Americans aren't bad old killers like the vicious ratty little VC are. If Americans kill, the story goes, it's only out of reluctant necessity and we are very sorry about that. . . . Americans like to kill as well as the next man. . . . It happens to be a built-in factor in the basic nature of all men. . . ."

Perhaps. Here is what Harvey reports:

"The American Huey troops . . . came muttering down to the paddies and hootch lines, fired at close range and saw their opponents disintegrate to bloody rags 40 feet away . . . and after a fire fight was won they landed on the battlefield, got out and counted their VC dead. Each man had his own personal sidearm he carried along for mopping up."

"'I ran that little mother all over the place hosing him with guns but somehow or other we just didn't hit him. Finally he turned on us and stood there facing us with his rifle. We really busted his ass then. Blew him up like a toy balloon'."

"One F-4 fighter-bomber pilot in Danang told me he thought we should start at the DMZ and kill every man, woman, and child in North Vietnam."

Mr. Harvey has reported the air war as he saw it, and through his eyes we see it too, in its great heroism and its greater horror.

Romney in Orbit

by Gerald W. Johnson

If any doubt existed that we are entering a presidential year it would be dispelled by the quadrennial deployment of the Goose-Grease Battalion, now opening fire. For the next six months we may expect the literary domain to be subject to saturation bombing with gobs of goo euphemistically called campaign biographies.

First direct hit is from the Romney battery, and it must be admitted that it is a considerable splash. The gunner is T. George Harris, a staff man from *Look*. He has that indispensable faculty of the competent journalist, a sure instinct for the detail that will interest the greatest number of readers. A lesser man might, for instance, have overlooked the reader-interest in Romney's drawers, but Harris gives them a chapter. It seems that in the Mormon church when a communicant has attained a certain proficiency in theology and has passed the prescribed tests, it is his right, and apparently his duty to wear Long Johns with religious symbols – whether embroidered or inked in, deponent sayeth not – around the waist. This, like every other religious rite, Romney faithfully performs.

Romney's Way:
A Man and An Idea
by T. George Harris
(Prentice-Hall; $5.95)

The subtitle assures us that Romney's way consists of a Man and an Idea. The Man is here portrayed to the life, and a very attractive man he is, but the Idea eludes this reader. George Romney, Governor of Michigan and a strong contender for the Republican presidential nomination, certainly believes from the bottom of his heart that most of the troubles of the nation and the world stem from moral dereliction of one kind or another. Therefore if everyone would agree to act fairly and speak reasonably the great bulk of our problems would evaporate. That is definitely an idea, but to attribute it to Romney would be to abolish every other moral philosopher from Confucius to the Rt. Rev. James Albert Pike.

The idea that Harris assigns as Romney's own is not morality but, as far as this reader can make out, is basically the theory cherished by the late Justice Brandeis, among others, that sheer magnitude has a limit, at least in this world, beyond which the orga-

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nism, or the institution, develops an auto-intoxication that will eventually prove fatal. It is interesting to find Harris bracketing Romney and J. K. Galbraith as sharing this thought, but while their diagnosis of the trouble is identical, their methods of treatment are mutually exclusive. Both would invoke the power of the law, but while Galbraith would rely on control, rather than fragmentation of huge concentrations, Romney would enforce what he calls "spin-off." That is to say, when an organization had gained control of a substantial part of the whole market, say from 25 to 35 percent, it would be compelled to spin off its divisions as separate companies under independent management.

But this practice has been in use for a long time. The theoretical objection to it is that the monopolies seize the opportunity to spin off the dead wood, the money-losing operations that are a drag on the parent corporation. Romney asserts that experience has shown that the contrary is true – that the dead wood spun off to independent management more often than not blossoms like Aaron's rod and becomes a prosperous competitor.

Be that as it may, the theory is consistent with the thinking of a man who has been highly successful in handling a one-man enterprise but less so in devising a feedback that would keep the thing going after he has passed on to something else. Romney did that with American Motors, but it started downhill within a year after he left it. He seems to have done it with the state of Michigan. The question is, will that start downhill as soon as he is no longer Governor? In short, he is a great quarter-horse, but the Presidency is a four-mile course and possibly twice that.

Can Romney stick it? This book gives no persuasive answer. He is honest. He is attractive. As a salvage man he has shown extraordinary ability. But the sharp, clear, accurate thinking that is desperately needed in the Presidency is nowhere apparent in this record.

Black Power?

by Simon Lazarus

Black power is and will remain an empty slogan, until the black masses become political men, in the shrewd, selfish, and generally effective way that the white middle and working classes are political men. Poor people have never been long on political self-consciousness or sophistication (after all, the impetus behind the drive to organize industrial workers in the thirties came largely from the White House). And the poor currently caught between the mechanized cotton-picker and the federal bulldozer show few features which make their case seem a significant exception. Aimless violence, whether the summer conflagrations to which white Americans have almost become accustomed or the more calculated terrorism which is predicted, cannot in the end substitute for disciplined political action – as perceptive white radicals like Thomas Hayden have admitted.

Black Power:
The Politics of Liberation in America
by Stokely Carmichael
and Charles V. Hamilton
(Random House; $4.95;
paperback, $1.95)

We have witnessed the end of what C. Vann Woodward calls the Second Reconstruction. The only remaining question is whether the rumblings we are now witnessing presage a bang or a whimper. Congressional conservatives, and, increasingly, liberal cynics located in the Executive Branch and in academia are betting on a whimper. They are probably right. The riots reflect most of all the shock of the Negroes at discovering how durable white hostility to their advance really is. Once they have digested this information, they will adjust, just as oppressed classes have in the past. Repression plus the continued promise of cosmetic reforms will keep the peace. The fire-bell will stop ringing in the night.

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BLACK MAN IN WHITE AMERICA

FREE BUT NOT EQUAL
The Midwest and the Negro during the Civil War
V. Jacque Voegeli
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Racism, however, will not cease to animate the individuals and institutions which actually govern most Negroes in their everyday lives. The nation will shrug and go on living, as it did a century ago when Southern terrorism subverted the new regime of Reconstruction and, after all, as it had for the three centuries prior to the first sit-in.

Admitting this gloomy prospect, it becomes difficult to know how to treat a manifesto like *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, an effort by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, (with additional input from Ivanhoe Donaldson) to distill a militant slogan into social theory and political program. If one faces up to the embarrassing gap between reality and the authors' bravado, one risks appearing to condescend to heroes, whose past at least records a capacity for genuine radical action, as well as evidence of great political and physical courage. Their present embrace of revolutionary rhetoric may be a pose. But behind it, one surmises, is the bravery of Camus' rebel, understanding the resilience of evil but defiantly unwilling to acquiesce in its triumph.

In the case of this particular book, one's difficulty is compounded. The authors are not only whistling in the dark; their tune appears to be one which cannot really be credible to the authors themselves in any sense, even as evocation of a desirable fantasy. It is quite out of step with the sharp turn toward separatism and violence taken by SNCC in 1967; disappointment awaits any reader eager to peruse a serious exposition of the revolutionary premises that race is necessarily the basic unit of political organization and violence an inevitable concomitant of meaningful social change. All they are about, the authors insist, is capturing a majority on the city council. "Black power" is only a device for promoting that "group solidarity" which is "necessary before a group can operate . . . from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society."

Messrs. Hamilton and Carmichael must be putting us on. And of course they are. Like Carmichael's 1966 essay, "What We Want," *Black Power* is a hasty, half-hearted, and substantially

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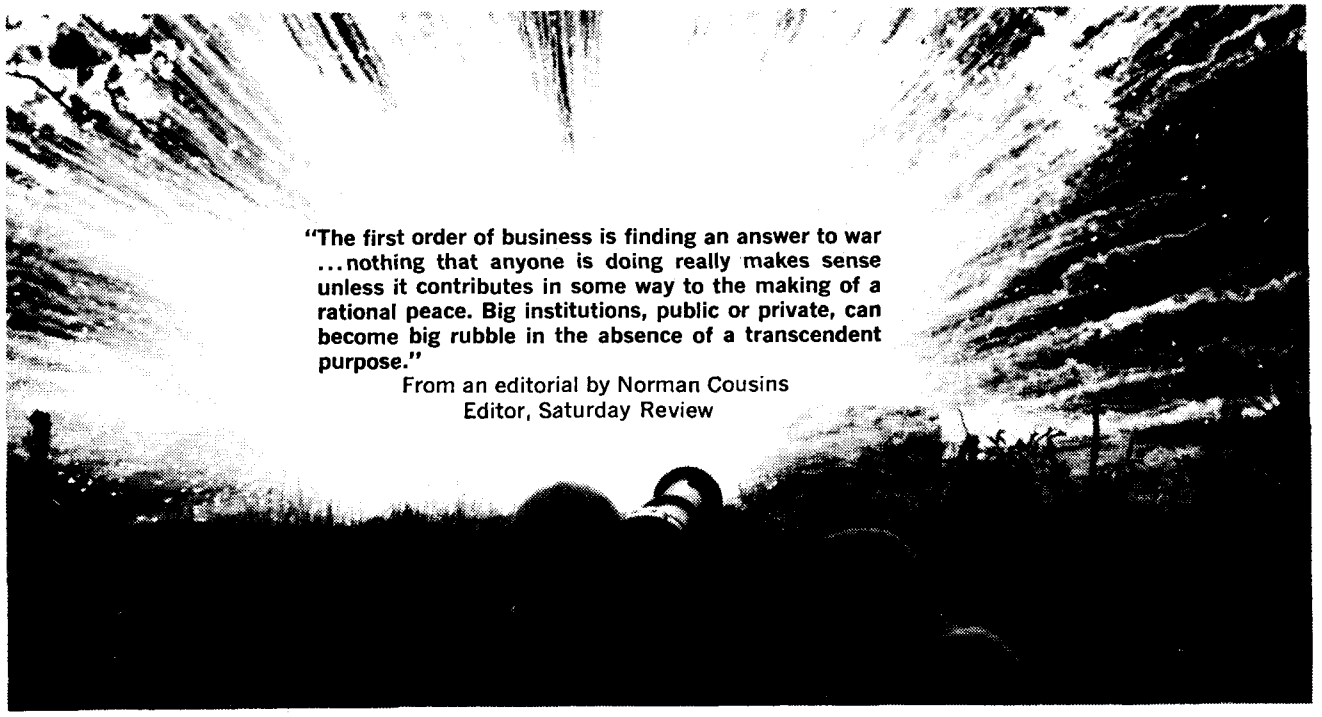
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hypocritical attempt to massage the affections of jilted white liberals.

If the book seeks or deserves to be taken seriously in any measure, it is only because it may represent SNCC's actual views during the summer and autumn of 1966, before the collapse of Stokely Carmichael's effort to place a black political party in control of the government of Lowndes County, Alabama. In this guise, *Black Power* is principally a reply to Bayard Rustin's scolding lectures to the Negro Left which appear from time to time. Overlong and obviously padded to justify presentation in book form, the radicals' argument is nevertheless neither unsophisticated nor unpersuasive.

Indeed, few of Rustin's points are left standing after Carmichael and Hamilton have had their say. Black control of institutions vital to the black community must be the central objective, they contend, but not out of the white New Left's romance with "participation" for its own sake. They seem to see black control simply as a precondition for obtaining the objective material benefits which liberals conventionally promise as the fruit of their strategy of nonviolence and coalition. As I.S. 201 mothers concluded, and indeed as McGeorge Bundy appears to agree, Negroes cannot be educated in white-dominated schools, no matter how much money is pumped in by the Office of Education – at least not in the schools described by Kenneth Clark, Jonathan Kozol, or Peter Schrag.

More to the point, the authors sneer, even if the Freedom Budget could work, the "coalition" of liberals, labor, and blacks supposed to produce it simply does not exist. And it never will exist. What good is it to pretend that working class and poor white people do not despise and fear Negro competitors for jobs, housing, and status? Why ignore the deviousness of liberal suburbanites and business groups who converted the Housing Act of 1949 into a powerful tool for maintaining segregated housing?

So the Negro moderates do not have their coalition. But unfortunately the black radicals do not have their power either. They are frank enough, indeed, to concede that Mayor Daley carried 85 percent of Chicago's Negro vote as recently as April 1967. As long as this sort of passivity cripples black politicians, SNCC's scorn for moderates like Martin Luther King – on the ground that the latter direct their appeals to whites rather than blacks – must be regarded with suspicion and more than a grain of salt. For even during its frustrating campaign to enfranchise the Black Belt Negro, and certainly since then, SNCC has been nearly as preoccupied with white America as its erstwhile allies in the civil rights movement.

One suspects that history will regard Stokely Carmichael, not as the vanguard of a black revolutionary movement, and certainly not as the prophet of black control of powerful social institutions, but as the last of

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Nancy and John Seletti aren't trying to save the world. Just a little piece of it.

About a mile outside the Korean village of Ku Am there are a few dozen young, still-tender mulberry trees growing on a small hill. Someday these trees and their succulent leaves will be the heart of a new village industry—a silk raising farm. That day is still many months off, but it doesn't stop the village men from making daily inspection treks up the steep hill, just in case. Just in case something miraculous has happened since yesterday. After all, it wouldn't be the first miracle to happen in Ku Am. Everyone in the village knows the story of Chang Sook, the daughter of the widow.

Ten years ago Chang Sook's chances of survival were as slim as she was. Her father had disappeared during the family's flight from North Korea. Her mother, a seamstress, worked a backbreaking day and most of the evening to earn $10 a month. Barely enough to keep them from starving.

But today that's all changed because an American couple named Seletti are sharing a little of their good fortune with a girl to whom a little means everything. Nancy, John and five-year-old Alexandra Seletti are New Yorkers. They're not fabulously wealthy as the villagers of Ku Am believe. But, they're not poor either. *Comfortable* probably describes them best. They have everything they really need, but give them ten minutes and they'll come up with ten things they want that $15 a month would buy. Luckily, they thought of Chang Sook first.

Through Save the Children Federation, the Seletti's $15 a month is doing a remarkable number of things. First, Chang Sook's immediate needs and future schooling are being taken care of. The family is getting help, too: Enough to enable Chang Sook's mother to start a small knit shop.

And with all this, there is still some money left over. This money, together with money from other sponsors, was borrowed by the village to start its precious mulberry farm. Someday silk raising will mean a permanent increase in the village's income—and permanently end the need for charity. That's what Save the Children Federation is all about. Although contributions are tax-deductible, it is not a charity. The aim is not merely to buy one child a warm coat, a new pair of shoes and a six month supply of vitamin pills. Instead, your contribution is used to give the child, the family and the village a little boost that may be all they need to start helping themselves.

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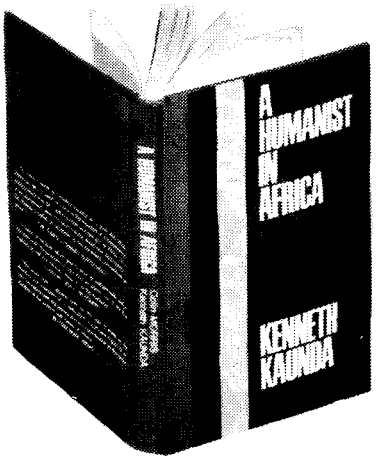

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a generation of national Negro leaders who functioned, of necessity, without a constituency outside the conventional political institutions. First they submitted to violence before television cameras; ultimately they threatened, "If America don't come around, we're going to burn America down." Persistently, their goal was to influence whites. Necessarily, their main frame of reference was the national political system, not an individual black community.

These days are over, for Stokely no less than for Dr. King (except for the gratuitous and undeserved attention he will receive whenever ghetto violence flares, or during his next holiday in Algiers, or simply for insulting the President). The civil rights leaders will be superseded by local Nationalist figures and by conventional politicians like Carl Stokes; the latter will reaffirm that ethnic control of a local government is unlikely to produce dramatic material gain for the group, but will soothe their status insecurities enough to assure tranquility.

THEATRE

San Quentin on Stage

San Francisco

It may be different in New York, even though Elizabeth Hardwick prefers the Fugs to anything on or off Broadway. In San Francisco, the choice is simple. First the Mime Troupe, moving one step ahead of fuzz from park to church and up to Canada for a quick court appearance. Otherwise, it's slicked-up American Conservatory Theatre productions of classics new and old, heavily advertised, fairly well attended, and having value only in the most professional sense of the word. Or the semi-pro weekend stands, like *The Fantasticks*, now in its umpteenth week at the Ghirardelli Square Theatre.

The Cage
by Rick Cluchey
(Ghirardelli Square and
Encore Theatres, San Francisco)

Actor's Workshop made things different for a time, but since it was organized too ambitiously to feed on the Mime Troupe staples of love, hunger, and green grass, the Workshop died, leaving memories of McClure's *The Beard*, Vian's *Empire Builders*, a strange *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and a passionate, absurdist, funky drama written by a San Quentin convict, called *The Cage*.

But wait – Actor's Workshop passed well over a year ago. *The Cage* moved from the Encore Theatre to KQED-TV, then this past summer started several months of weekday performances at Ghirardelli Square Theatre. Then back to the Encore, and on the side a performance at the big posh Geary Theatre for underprivileged kids (they wrecked some windows after the curtain, when busses ran late), and trips to Washington and Milwaukee.

Rick Cluchey's *The Cage* is peculiarly alive, in a way no other theatre is now. Cluchey, too, should wear a button *Recalled to Life* to remind people he was sentenced to jail without possibility of parole only 13 years ago, when he was a 21-year-old armed robber who pulled a technical kidnapping. In "Q," Cluchey got into theatre. He helped organize a prison workshop, and wrote two plays. *The Cage* was the first play by an inmate to be performed behind prison walls. It was Frenchified because, as Cluchey says, you wouldn't want to give guards the idea atrocities occur inside the modern penal institution (looks like a medium-sized college, people say) on San Francisco Bay. The prison production was gory and leathery – eyepatches, motorcycle jackets, boasting of awful crimes.

The Workshop production was taken straight from the original, though

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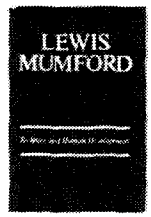

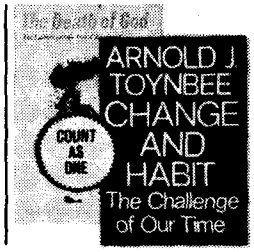

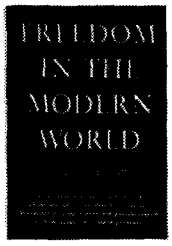

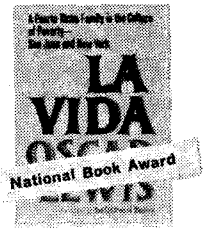

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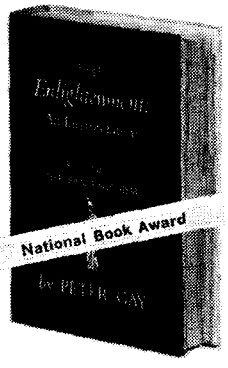

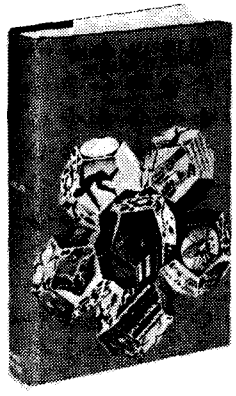

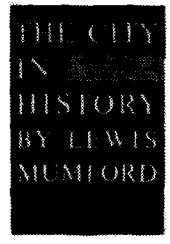

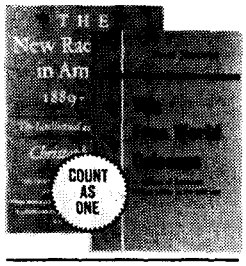

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with professional actors. It got a good press, with some reservations on account of greenfaced rats being confused with the greeneyed prisoner in Genet's *Deathwatch*. Some of the patronizing attitude you'd expect from critics in the sticks looking for off-Broadway. Not much – just some.

But the cats came back – in a completely ex-con production, un-Frenchified and with considerably greater power.

Blame the author, who for the first time stars in his own vehicle. Cluchey is intense as actor, playwright, and promoter. He's not interested in entertaining an audience, though as playwright and actor he's entertaining. From his speeches after the play's over, it seems Cluchey's overriding interest is rehabilitating convicts, only incidentally including himself. As national director of Seven Step Foundation, he heads a program which tries to reverse the 80 percent recidivist rate for ex-cons.

Perhaps part of the reason for small audiences is that Cluchey gives the impression that his work is a propaganda play, worth seeing only for charitable reasons or vulgar fascination at spending a few hours with robbers and killers.

Really, the play stands on its own, especially in its current version. It goes far beyond the terror-striking banter of a realistic drama like *The Brig*.

The Cage seems to be absurdist theatre, though less glitteringly professional. But Ionesco is uncommitted, except against pompous belief in fragile ideas. Cluchey's play is against belief in pompous ideas, but for something – individual salvation. A con can get out of stir, even if he was given a life sentence. Cluchey did. A convict can become an actor, or get another sort of job. And a convict, or any other person, can talk to people, straight at their faces.

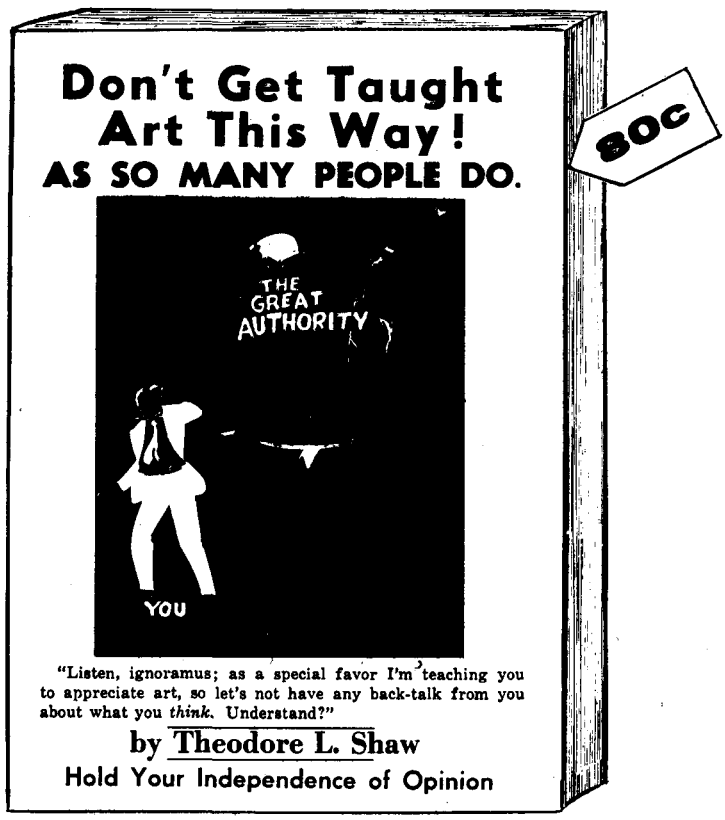
The play has funky absurdities. Three hardened prisoners, Al, Hatchet, and Ernie, sing mass together, in Latin. They put a newcomer, Jive, on trial. "I'm innocent!" Jive insists, straight, blond and crewcut, as if he really were. The prisoner playing prosecutor calls Jive "dirty mailbag killer of his 15-year-old broad."

"Seventeen!" Jive shouts. The cast sings "America the Beautiful."

Homosexuality is handled with a sort of lightness that makes it more distressing than any amount of hard-edged protest could convey. Ernie, only Negro in the current version, is trying to make the poor innocent kid, Jive, from the moment the newcomer urinates into the only prop on stage. But every time another prisoner (who has the same idea going) accuses Ernie of lechery, he denies it blandly, while at the same time assuming a position of homosexual intercourse with Jive.

The point Cluchey tries hard to bring out during a discussion period that follows each performance, is that jail's a brutal, inhuman place, and good to stay out of. But – this emerges strongly in the play, but when I was there only weakly in the discussion – the play, as presented, spreads far beyond its cell-bound subject.

With vigor and humor, *The Cage* transcends limitations. When Jive is sentenced to live faceless, without a name, he might as well be given an IBM card and filing job. When Cluchey playing Hatchet passes sentence, and confronts the audience with the words, "I have done your will," he



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emerges from a prison confine as a combination of social critic and poet, not mere penologist.

During discussion period, six convicts sit on clattery folding chairs. The audience is nervous, and asks obviously weak questions about race relations, corporal punishment, prison mores. The actors have been through it. They laugh, harangue lawyers and housewives. A secretary asked one of the actors what it was like to spend a year in a cell alone with a man. First cast, then audience, exploded tension in laughter.

Cluchey makes me uneasy, wanting so hard to get money for his organization and volunteers for office work. This is because the play set me to thinking about my own commitment, and my own work. But thinking again, after the lights are out and the people in the audience have moved into their private darkness and light, even Cluchey's hardsell makes sense. Here's drama committed to action, pushed by ambition to a point of professionalism. Cluchey has gotten plaudits from Otto Preminger, and Micil Murphey did work of solid professional caliber in the Actor's Workshop production of *A Man's A Man*. But beyond individuals, the cast presents the unusual and moving spectacle of six men all into the same thing, working together to project their shared human suffering to an audience with initially different commitments.

How far can Teatro Campesino, propaganda theatre for the Delano migrant labor organizers, push its thing? What potential does the Mime Troupe, suffering now from the specific social wrong of harassment for long hair and possession of the mild euphoric marijuana, have to clarify its art?

Cluchey has announced plans for a national convict theatre workshop, which may start with his second play, *The Wall is Mama*. What a fine start toward a new sort of national theatre, or at least a segment of it committed not to professionalism, but to getting out of holes.

Micil Murphey got dragged off stage during a performance, because a routine parole blood test showed codeine, which, he claimed, was in prescription cough syrup. An ex-con is vulnerable in amazing ways, and can be returned

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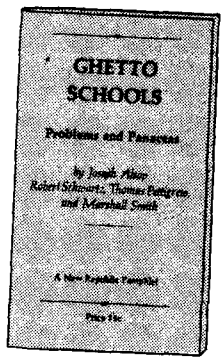

GHETTO SCHOOLS

These are the articles, originally appearing in The New Republic, that kicked off the provocative dialogue about the problems and panaceas of ghetto education.

Contents:

- *No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education!* by Joseph Alsop
- *Fake Panaceas for Ghetto Education* (a reply to Joseph Alsop) by Robert Schwartz, Thomas Pettigrew and Marshall Smith.
- *Ghetto Schools* (a second article by Joseph Alsop).
- Subscriber correspondence on the subject.

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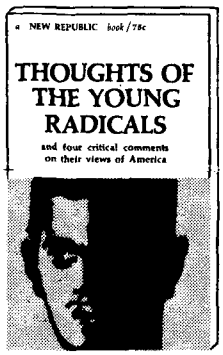

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to jail for the company he keeps, or on mere suspicion of unlawful behavior He can't vote or travel. It seems convict psychology, or ex-con luck, is contagious – Ken Margolis, the non-convict director, was put in jail for traffic violations. But *The Cage* continues to run, and carries the strength of contributing a new kind of theatre to San Francisco, and perhaps to America.

DAVID ZACK

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

The American Transition

Sirs:

Zbigniew Brzezinski's "The American Transition" (Dec. 23) convinces me that the intellectual battles of the future will not be over "isms" but "ics." The professor outlines what he considers the positive possibilities in a technocratic programmatic technetronic meritocratic democratic society.

Brzezinski's "ic" society offers little more than Plato's Republic conditioned by modern technology. The President should be "educationally up-to-date." The managerial elite, the ruler-guardians, will be the "ablest," selected from society at large by some "objective and systematic criteria." But, as always, who will watch the watchers? Can we discard all previous experience to declare that this "programmatic American society" will adequately serve all, or even most, of us, and not primarily the interests of the programmers?

The author's "continued respect for the popular will" seems hollow. He confuses administrative decentralization within basically authoritarian organizations (the army, "some large businesses") with humanly meaningful decentralized power. So sergeants can now direct massive air strikes – can they peacefully declare the war purposeless and be heard by the generals? Can lower-echelon businessmen refuse to market a product because it is unsafe and remain within the company? In each case, the subordinate must accept the basic goals of the organization and abandon any hope of significantly influencing basic decisions. People in such positions, whatever the range of options within their respective roles, are mere functionaries, not free men. Democracy becomes a patent fraud, as with the student council which can democratically run homecoming, but can say nothing about the really important question, education.

The classic solution for a society crumbling before new conditions is greater centralization of power in an elite. However, the problem is not too little system, but already too much. The more intelligent, imaginative, daring, and necessary path for all who hope for something better than the beehive state is toward true economic and political decentralization, which will offer men more control over their lives, with as little material sacrifice as possible.

Bruce A. Campbell
East Lansing, Michigan

Notes on Contributors

Herbert R. Coursen, Jr. *was an Air Force pilot in the 1950's and is on the staff of the English Department at Bowdoin College.* Simon Lazarus, *an attorney living in Washington, D.C., was graduated in 1967 from Yale Law School where he was Note and Comment Editor of the* Yale Law Journal. David Zack *is a free-lance writer who lives in San Francisco.*

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ADA's Options

Sirs:

In regard to your editorial (Dec. 23), "ADA's Options," I feel that I have to make a brief comment lest the silence be interpreted as agreement.

You suggest that I might go along with the policy in which ADA as such takes no stand in the Democratic primary but releases its chapters to support Senator McCarthy if they so please. Precisely this position was proposed at the last Board meeting. It was voted down by about 3 to 1. I have not changed my mind since and the more I see of the McCarthy campaign the less inclined am I to change my mind.

Gus Tyler
New York, N.Y.

In answer to your editorial, "ADA's Options," the fact is that there *aren't* any options, at least until April when the 1968 ADA convention will be held. This may displease both the ADA board members who seek endorsement for Senator McCarthy and those who would like a repudiation of his candidacy, but nevertheless, that's the case!

1. Last March 13, Rep. Don Edwards, then the National Chairman of ADA, wrote a letter to *The New York Times* in which he said: "Under our rules, the decisions as to whom we will support in 1968 will be determined by the ADA 1968 National Convention and the ADA National Board after the political parties have held their conventions. This has always been ADA's policy."

2. Two weeks later, the ADA National Convention which, under the ADA constitution, is the governing voice of the organization: "ADA, of course, takes no position now with respect to the national elections of 1968." This plank necessarily governs ADA statements and activity until the next convention.

If the ADA national board is to function responsibly rather than as a junta, it has to live by its own rules and procedures which, on this subject at least, seem remarkably clear. . . .

As for an ADA endorsement of McCarthy, there is no reason why members who wish to work for McCarthy should refrain from doing so, with or without the organizational endorsement. As individuals, they are perfectly free to work in any campaign they choose.

Mildred Ann Myerson
Delegate to National Board, ADA
Waban, Mass.

The Peace Corps and Vietnam

Sirs:

We are concerned about the war in Vietnam because of the death and destruction that it brings, because of the resources employed there that could in part be used to alleviate poverty and urban and racial unrest, and because of the continued escalation with its attendant possibility of armed intervention by either China or Russia.

We are concerned because what we do here seems to diminish daily in importance when measured against the increasing tempo of violence that contributes to the misery of a people in Vietnam.

. . . A substantial number of Peace Corps Volunteers in Liberia hoped to give tangible evidence of our concern over our country's policies in Vietnam during Vice-President Humphrey's visit here. But the associate director and then the director of Peace Corps in Liberia made unmistakingly clear that any comment by us, public or private, on Vietnam in the presence of the Vice-President would result in immediate termination from the Peace Corps. The Peace Corps Director in Liberia also refused to contact Mr. Jack Vaughn, Peace Corps Director in Washington, when requested to do so by volunteers. A call to Mr. Vaughn by a volunteer did not alter the policy previously stated.

A few of us, still concerned though somewhat shaken, now see our only hope of expressing our concern is through the written word. Such expression fortunately is safeguarded against reprisal from the Peace Corps by a directive set forth this past summer by Mr. Vaughn.

Joseph Marchese
Richard Hawthorne
Jon Hanshew
Monrovia, Liberia

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Kauffmann, *from page 22*

mount, the American distributor, evidently thought so little of its commercial chances that they did not go to the expense of correcting the ungrammatical and misspelled subtitles that were done abroad; nor did Paramount give it advance advertising. The film opened almost cold in New York, the make-or-break city for imported films, and *The New York Times*, the paper that does the making or breaking, did not even send one of their staff of film reviewers, possibly because of the distributor's tepid attitude. *The Times* sent a show-biz reporter – to cover a film made from an Albert Camus novel by Luchino Visconti with Marcello Mastroianni in the leading role. And they ran their reporter's brief review in a subsidiary position.

But, no matter what its initial reception, *The Stranger* is bound to reappear for years in various revival series (with corrected subtitles, I hope), and in 16-millimeter form, it will find its way into the repertory of university and other film societies.

STAFF CHANGES

On February 1 Richard Gilman, a contributor to The New Republic *for five years, will become literary editor. Robert Evett, who has been with this journal since 1952, will join the staff of* The Atlantic Monthly. *Mr. Gilman is on the faculty of the Yale Drama School and previously served as literary editor of* Commonweal *and drama critic of* Newsweek.

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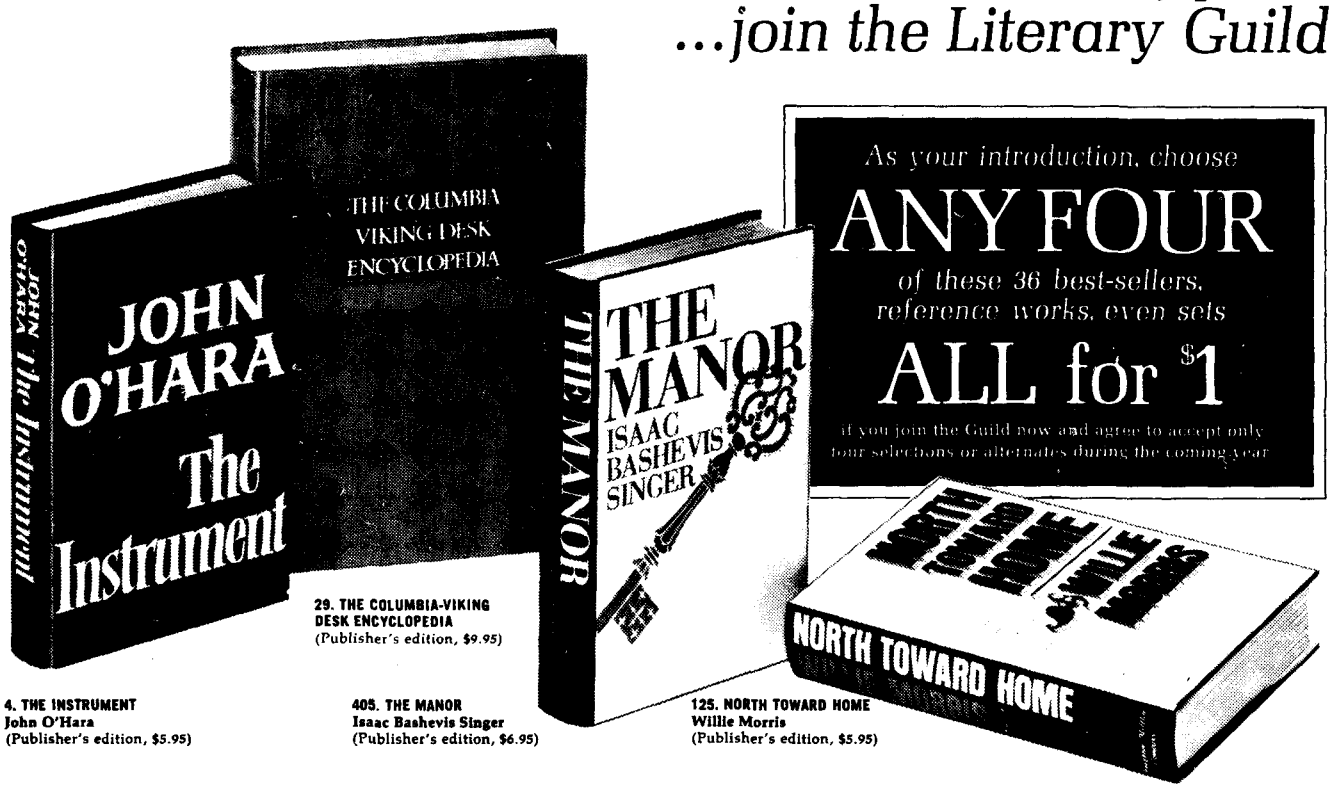

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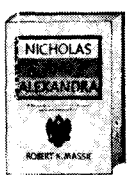

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